

French Political Winds Cool Franc's Prospects

Election Turbulence Makes Currency Potentially Vulnerable, Experts Say

By Alan Friedman
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — As France heads into an increasingly bitter and divisive presidential campaign, economists say the French franc is most likely to be a prime victim of the turbulence.

Uncertainty about the outcome of next spring's election, as well as a series of political corruption scandals that have weakened the standing of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, has cooled investor sentiment and left the franc more potentially vulnerable than at any time since it was at the center of the European currency crisis in mid-1993.

In 1993, France clung to high interest rates in order to defend its strong franc policy amid deep recession, even as the crisis blew apart the European exchange rate mechanism.

As a result of current election fears, analysts say big investors have become

looked at by the market and investors in French assets.

The franc has performed much better against the dollar because of the persistent weakness of the U.S. currency in recent months. The dollar has fallen from about 5.70 francs in June to around 5.30 francs at present, and it is expected to trade in a range of between 5.00 and 5.50 in coming months.

"Up to the election you can't rule out further franc weakness," said Jean-François Mercier, an economist at Salomon Brothers in London. "The election looks quite uncertain. It is a fairly close call."

What is especially frustrating for defenders of the franc in Paris is the fact that except for its fiscal deficit and high unemployment rate, most of France's economic fundamentals look better than they have for years.

The view of many in the financial markets is that these otherwise promising signals — including low inflation, unexpectedly robust economic growth and an improving trade surplus — will only have a positive impact on the franc after a new president is chosen.

Although it will probably strengthen after the elections, between now and next spring the franc could be susceptible to volatility as a result of such factors as these:

• A series of contradictory remarks about monetary policy by Jacques Chirac, the mayor of Paris, who is the first declared candidate in the race to succeed President François Mitterrand.

• A string of political corruption scandals that have already forced three ministers to leave the government and that have tarnished Mr. Balladur's reputation and reduced his chances of beating Mr. Chirac for the presidential nomination.

• A sense that the overly independent Bank of France, defender of the national currency, has yet to establish its credibility in a decisive way.

• Concern that not enough has been done to tackle the serious structural problems causing France's high public-sector budget deficit, and that the 1994 target has been met largely thanks to better-than-expected growth, which produced higher-than-anticipated tax revenues.

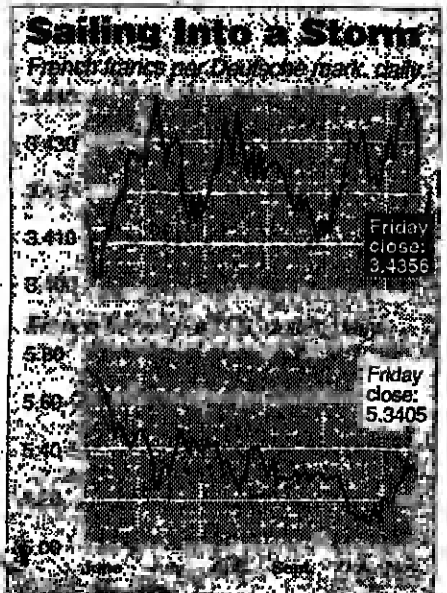
• Worries about France's stubbornly high 12.7 percent unemployment rate, and its implications for future efforts to rein in spending.

Last week, Mr. Chirac tried to soften the impact of his call for a new referendum on a single European currency and his statement that battling unemployment was as important as monetary stability. Those remarks had dented the franc's standing against the Deutsche mark.

In his latest comments, Mr. Chirac said monetary stability remained among his top priorities, but his clarification was not taken as seriously by international observers as it was by domestic officials.

Edmond Alphandery, France's economy minister, tried to put a brave face on Mr. Chirac's flip-flop, saying in an interview that "while it is not my job to inter-

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increasingly cautious, and some have been pulling out of French assets in recent weeks.

"Political uncertainty has been the major factor in weakening the French franc since the summer, and politics will continue to dominate sentiment on the franc until the election is out the way," said Avinash Persaud, head of currency research for J.P. Morgan in London. On Monday, the U.S. investment bank will issue a special report by Mr. Persaud that warns of the franc's potential weakness.

While senior French officials like Jean-Claude Trichet, governor of the Bank of France, insist that the franc remains stable, several economists said the cloudy political outlook had created a "risk premium" for the franc.

The French currency — which fluctuates in a narrow band against the Deutsche mark — has weakened to a low of nearly 3.40 francs to the mark in recent days, from about 3.40 francs in June. This is significant because the franc-mark level counts more than any other relationship



Danish UN soldiers in Sarajevo scanning a hilltop Sunday after UN troops stationed in Bosnia were put on red alert.

Democracy Breaks Out in Southern Africa

By Bill Keller
New York Times Service

LUSAKA, Zambia — As a meeting of southern African leaders was winding down last month, Frederick Chiluba, the elfin former union leader who is now the president of Zambia, lapsed into a pensive monologue.

Maybe Africa was not really cut out for Western-style democracy, he told his fellow heads of state with a sigh. How could a president get anything done with opponents constantly carping at him? Maybe the one-party state was the way to go, after all.

"To run our countries effectively, we have to be securely in control," he said, according to another participant in the

meeting. Soon, leaders from South Africa and Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique were all embroiled in this philosophical debate.

Not long ago, it would have been hard to find a quorum of African leaders who could argue from experience about the frustrations of democracy.

But while much of the continent languishes under warlords, despots or martial rule, southern Africa is coalescing into a region of peace and political pluralism, sometimes crudely honored but remarkably by African standards.

Already this year three of the 10 countries that make up the bottom third of Africa — South Africa, Mozambique and Malawi — have settled domestic conflicts

through negotiation and elections and joined the club of novice democracies.

On Saturday, leaders from across the southern part of the continent converged on this placid capital hoping to induct their newest recruit — Angola, a country that has spent most of the last 33 years at war.

Eduardo dos Santos, the Angolan president, arrived Saturday for the scheduled signing Sunday of a treaty promising a cease-fire and a share of power for the Unita rebel movement.

But UN officials said Saturday night that the rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, had refused to come for fear of his personal

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NATO Strikes Authorized in Croatian Area Until Friday

Security Council Acts After Zagreb Agrees to Missions Against Serbs

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

LONDON — NATO military commanders said Sunday that they had full authority from both the United Nations and alliance headquarters in Brussels to launch air strikes against an air base in Serbian-held territory in Croatia, but only until Friday.

NATO ambassadors endorsed a Security Council decision late Saturday to authorize strikes against targets in Croatia that the Serbs used to launch two air raids against the Muslim enclave of Bihać in northwestern Bosnia.

The Croatian government gave the United Nations a free hand over airspace in the area for one week from 8 P.M. local time Friday, a NATO military officer said.

"We can take the fight into Croatia if we have to until 8 P.M. next Friday, and after that everything is subject to negotiation," the officer said.

The United Nations has declared the area around Bihać a "protected zone," but Serbian jets from Udbina airport in Serbian-held Croatia dropped napalm on Bihać last Friday and bombed and strafed the town of Cazvin, about 15 kilometers (10 miles) north of Bihać, on Saturday without any NATO response. (Page 2.)

One reason why NATO did not immediately respond, according to officers, was that the UN forces on the ground in Bihać are ill equipped to call in air strikes or to defend themselves against retaliation.

The main UN presence in the area is a battalion of about 1,000 lightly armed soldiers from Bangladesh. Only a quarter of them are said to have rifles, and they have been prevented from receiving supplies by a Serbian blockade.

Rebel Muslim troops opposed to the Muslim-led Bosnian government in Sarajevo are also involved in the fighting.

Colocil J. C. Lemieux, a Canadian officer with the UN forces, said, according to Reuters Sunday, that the Serbian attacks on Bihać and Cazvin were intolerable. "I have personally and urgently appealed to my superiors to do their utmost to stop these outrageous violations of international law," he said.

Last year, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization agreed to back up the UN forces in Bosnia with air strikes and air support if they requested it, but the alliance has no authority from the United Nations to act on its own. Until Saturday, NATO pilots trying to protect the zone around Bihać could not fly in Croatian airspace or launch strikes against the airport in Udbina.

On Saturday, the Security Council authorized retaliation, and the NATO ambassadors in Brussels agreed that Admiral Leighton Smith, the NATO commander in Naples, could launch bombing missions in Serbian-held Croatia if UN civilian and

See NATO, Page 4



Family and friends at the funeral on Sunday of Gil Dadon, an Israeli Army officer who was killed in the Gaza Strip.

Peace Depends on Aid, Palestinians Warn

By Clyde Haberman
New York Times Service

GAZA CITY — In an urgent plea for economic help, the Palestinian self-rule government called Sunday on Israel to lift its "siege of starvation" of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, and told foreign countries that it was "now or never" to carry out their unfulfilled pledges of aid.

Still reeling from street disorders that killed at least 13 Gazans and wounded

about 200 on Friday, officials turned their attention to what many here regard as a basic cause of unrest: imbedded poverty despite all the hopes raised when Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority came into being half a year ago.

The Palestinian officials warned that Gaza could dissolve into chaos and that the Middle East peace talks could collapse unless money started pouring in fast. That view is echoed by United Nations representatives and foreign diplomats, who dismissed as a failure the effort thus far by so-called donor countries.

"It is now or never," Nabil Shaath, a key Arafat lieutenant, said of countries that have come forth with less than \$200 million of the \$700 million they promised for 1994. "If they don't come up with their money now, we don't need it. It will be too late to use it."

As for Israel, which cut the number of work permits for Palestinians by two-thirds after a series of terrorist attacks last

month, Mr. Shaath said it had to end what he called a "siege of starvation" and speed up its pledged payments to the self-rule government.

Two days after the worst violence since self-rule began — with Mr. Arafat's police force stunning and enraging Palestinians by repeatedly opening fire on street protesters — Gaza was relatively quiet on Sunday. At a news conference, Mr. Shaath asserted confidently that "peace, security and tranquility had been restored to every Palestinian in the Gaza Strip."

But Gaza was far from normal. Tensions remained high, as shown by burning tires on the roads and shuttered shop windows. And even though militant Islamic groups and Mr. Arafat's authority held negotiations to turn a temporary truce into a more lasting agreement, the menace of renewed battles hovered above them.

Mahmoud Zahar, a leader of the main Islamic organization, Hamas, warned that

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Helms Attack on Clinton Called 'Reckless'

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — A debate over President Bill Clinton's credentials to head the nation's military turned raw on Sunday with the White House branding as "reckless" a leading Republican senator's criticism of the president's abilities.

The senator, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, one of the White House's most persistent critics, ignited the controversy in an interview televised Saturday, saying Mr. Clinton was not up to the job of commanding the U.S. military and that some officers felt the same way.

Responding Sunday, Leon E. Panetta, the White House chief of staff, called the comments "certainly reckless."

"They send terrible signals abroad to both our enemies and our allies about our ability to come together on foreign affairs issues," he said. "And they send a terrible signal to the troops, most of whom are loyal to this president."

Mr. Helms's opinion resonated widely because he will become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in January.

General John M. Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, tele-

phoned reporters over the weekend to rebut any suggestion that the nation's military leaders have a low opinion of Mr. Clinton or that they are not completely loyal to him.

In a televised interview on Sunday, a leading Senate Democrat, Christopher J. Dodd of Connecticut, said Senator Helms's remarks "undermine the president" and come close to "aiding and abetting insubordination."

But some leading Republicans, including the party's Senate leader, Bob Dole of

See HELMS, Page 4

Judge's Vanity, Not O. J., Becomes Talk of the Trial

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES — Lance A. Ito, prankster, a funny guy as judges go, is in a sour and snippy mood. He's having a bad day in a horrible week. He looks glum. He's not joking as he usually does. He's not himself.

He's not the Lance Ito who as a young lawyer had a license plate that said "BOZOS" in honor of the California Supreme Court. He's not the Lance Ito who once infested a colleague's office with pigeons. He's not the Lance Ito who has a Doberman named Gillis, as in Dobie Gillis. What he is on this particular afternoon in November is the Lance Ito who blundered, who opened his mouth at the wrong time and managed to get almost everyone angry at him. And he's the Lance Ito whose wife, a high-ranking Los Angeles police officer, is about to be dragged into the maw of the O. J. Simpson trial.

There is a faint crackling in the courtroom. It comes from the direction of Marcia Clark, the prosecutor. She is fid-

dling with something, maybe a candy wrapper. A couple of opposing attorneys start squabbling over something, talking at the same time as the court stenographer struggles to get it all down. Judge Ito suddenly declares, in a humorless, schoolmarmish tone, "One counsel gets to address the court, preferably the one that's not eating."

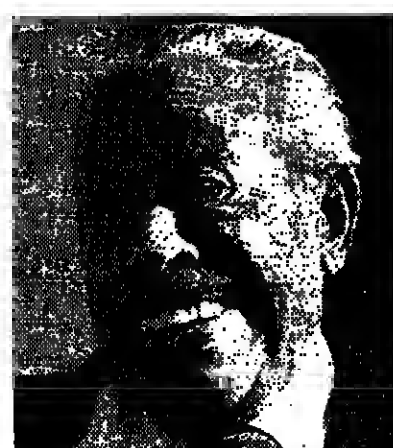
He looks at Ms. Clark. She freezes. Then she looks at her co-counsel in consternation. She wasn't eating anything. The moment passes. Court resumes. But the man up there on the bench this day is definitely not Lance Ito.

Officially, of course, it is O. J. Simpson who is on trial, and the charge is murdering Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald L. Goldman. But last week, that was just a legal technicality. Judge Ito was all anyone was talking about. The charge was arrogance, vanity, foolishness.

Normally judges are reserved, and Judge Ito was considered low-key until the Simpson case. But he has surprised

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Kiosk



Cab Calloway dies at 86. Page 4.

IRA Admits It Killed Ulster Postal Worker

DUBLIN (APF) — The Irish Republican Army admitted responsibility for the fatal shooting of a postal worker in Northern Ireland on Nov. 11. It blamed the killing, a violation of the 10-week cease-fire that threatened to undermine the peace process, on a "problem" in the chain of command.

UN on Alert as Tensions Rise in Bosnia

By John Pomfret

Washington Post Service

ZAGREB, Croatia — The UN operation placed its 43,000 soldiers on red alert and NATO warplanes stood by on aircraft carriers and airfields Sunday as UN and NATO officials considered launching air strikes against rebel Serbs.

But the officials emphasized that the increasingly explosive situation in the Balkans and the weakness of the lightly armed UN force was limiting their options.

Air strikes could trigger a wider war in the Balkans by prompting a Serbian attack on Croatia after almost two years here of uneasy peace.

But doing nothing would further erode the already meager authority possessed by the UN mission here, and it could invite retribution from Bosnian Muslim fighters and civilians fed up with 31 months of international inaction and apparent indifference to their plight.

Once again in the Balkans, the United Nations appears to have no way out.

"We've reviewed the options and all of them are bad," said a UN official after meetings Sunday to discuss a plan of action.

The discussions followed the second consecutive day that Serbian fighter jets had launched bombing raids on the Muslim enclave of Bihać in northwestern Bosnia.

Sarajevo radio reported that an 11-year-old boy died of injuries after one of the two Serbian Oras jet fighters crashed into an apartment block filled with refugees. Three unexploded bombs also were discovered near the area, including one bomb hanging off a balcony in an apartment block.

Saturday's Serbian strike occurred as the UN Security Council authorized NATO to attack Serbian targets in Croatia, including the Udbina airfield where the Serbian aircraft are based.

It marked the first time that the Security Council had sanctioned air strikes on Serbian forces or installations inside Croatian territory, a move backed by the Croatian govern-

ment. Previous resolutions have all concerned Bosnia.

Meanwhile, Bosnian Serbian forces around Bihać kept up their offensive from the east and the Bosnian government claimed Serbian tanks had advanced to the edge of the UN-designated "safe area."

In addition, rebel Muslims loyal to a renegade Bosnian businessman continued to battle government troops loyal to the mostly Muslim army in the north of the enclave. Croatian Serbs were providing fire and logistical support to the rebel Muslim troops and some of their fighters had crossed the border to join the fray.

By authorizing the use of air power against Croatian Serbian targets, the Security Council could be leading the Balkans toward a wider war, some UN officials fear.

For more than two years now, Croatian forces and the Serbian rebels who occupy 27 percent of the country have faced off uneasily following a war in 1991 over Croatia's se-

cession from Yugoslavia. The two sides recently concluded an agreement to restart limited economic ties for the first time since 1991. But following the Serbian air strikes, the Croatian Serbian Parliament rejected the deal.

By attacking Udbina airfield, near Croatia's border with Bosnia, NATO could prompt a Serbian assault on Croatia, followed by a counterattack by Croatia — and Bosnia's war would have overflowed its borders.

Milan Martić, president of the Croatian Serbs self-styled Republic of Srpska Krajina, threatened as much on Saturday.

NATO officials said they shared UN anxiety that a strike against Udbina could have a domino effect and widen the war.

"One of the real problems for Croatia is what will the Krajina Serbs do if there's an attack on their territory, given that they've had a cease-fire for a while now," a NATO official said. "It could get really ugly."



A class of children being taught to read Arabic at a refugee camp housing 500 Muslims near Zenica, Bosnia.

U.S. Denies European Claims It Is Aiding Bosnian Muslims

Washington Post Service

ZAGREB, Croatia — Recent reports in Europe that the United States is covertly aiding the Bosnian Muslims are strongly denied by American officials and appear to be inaccurate in many details.

The frequency of these stories, based on claims by unidentified European officials and United Nations officers, increased last week after the Clinton administration decided to stop enforcing a regional arms embargo against Bosnia's Muslim-led government.

Foreign Minister Alain Juppé of France, miffed at the U.S. move, entered the fray Wednesday, urging "the Anglo-Saxon press to investigate the supply of arms to Bosnia."

The U.S. Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency have denied the reports.

In interviews, a senior American military official, UN offi-

cers and Western diplomats dis-

puted the specific claims made in these stories. A senior West European diplomat accused the French of using the subject as a way to punish the United States for breaking ranks with Britain and France, which oppose any moves to exempt Bosnia's Muslims from the arms embargo imposed by the Security Council in 1991 on Yugoslavia and its former republics.

In European newspapers, details of possible U.S. military involvement are scant, but three main claims are repeated:

• That U.S. military officers agreed to share sensitive satellite information with the predominantly Muslim Bosnian Army during a "secret" meeting in the central Bosnian town of Gorzki Vakuf and that General Charles Boyd of the U.S. Air Force, a deputy commander of U.S. forces in Europe, who allegedly was chairman at the meeting, would be leading CIA teams on covert operations.

• That U.S. military advisers are working to finish an airfield between the central Bosnian towns of Visoko and Kakanj, which, depending on the account, is already being used or will be used to ferry in weapons in violation of the international arms embargo on Bosnia.

• That a team of U.S. officers led by General John Galvin, retired, will arrive in Sarajevo "shortly" to train senior staff in a joint Muslim-Croatian army.

According to a senior U.S. military official, the meeting in Gorzki Vakuf took place Sept. 4 and was led not by General Holbrook, the assistant secretary of state for European affairs.

Mr. Holbrook was in Bosnia on a publicly announced fact-finding mission to determine what needed to be done to bolster the Croatian-Muslim federation, which was brokered by the U.S. government in March.

General Boyd was at the meeting almost incidentally, the senior U.S. military official said; the air force general is an acquaintance of Mr. Holbrook's and decided to make use of the trip to see Bosnia.

The meeting in Gorzki Vakuf was also attended by the British commander of UN troops in the region — and if such a deal was being worked out, a UN general would hardly have been invited. The U.S. military official said that no discussions were held on the supply of satellite information and that no plans were hatched under which CIA agents would lead covert operations.

The military official also denied reports that U.S. operatives had helped build an airfield near Visoko.

Finally, reports originated by officials in the Croatian Defense Ministry, that 15 U.S. officers led by General Galvin would soon arrive in Sarajevo to train officers of the Muslim-Croatian federation, also appear wrong. No such team is planned, the U.S. official said.

JOHN POMFRET

In Iran, a Crisis of Confidence Economic Malaise Sets Off Student Protests

New York Times Service

TEHRAN — Iranian demonstrators took time out from a week of state-sponsored anti-American rallies recently to redirect their anger against the Islamic government and economic policies that have created a crisis of confidence.

During a demonstration this month commemorating the takeover of the U.S. Embassy during the Iran hostage crisis in 1979, nearly 500 students called for the execution of "capitalists" and denounced lawmakers for favoring wealthy merchants over low-income groups.

"Free market economic policies must be corrected," the protesters chanted. "The system must help the poor."

The protest, the second in two weeks at Tehran University, was only the latest example of unrest signaling a crisis of confidence in the government.

In October, 800 students marched to protest legislation that would have required them to pay if they failed a course, although there is no tuition at the university. After the protest, Parliament defeated the bill.

Senior government officials promised to continue a previously announced crackdown on speculators and profiteers hoarding large amounts of food after the government imposed price controls. But the economy has sent few encouraging signs.

Industrial growth stands at 1 percent this year and buying power has been undermined by uncontrolled inflation that has sent some food prices up by as much as 4,000 percent since March.

"If structural changes are not made, social and economic opposition can turn into political opposition," said Changiz Pahlavan, a political scientist in Tehran. "On the one hand, the state is reluctant to bring about change because they fear that public expectations may rise. On the other, without change, they face a serious challenge. The official thinking is that if they put the crisis behind them, they will survive."

The crackdown on profiteers, planned after a series of urban riots in 1992, was interpreted by political scientists and economists in Iran as a short-term remedy, neglecting the more fundamental issues: curbing government control of the economy and fostering competition.

With prices on some basic foods rising 100 to 4,000 percent since March, the government issued a list of regulated prices. In October, it threatened violators with financial penalties and flogging.

Then the police, judicial authorities and civilian-

clothed Basji, veterans of the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, raided dozens of supermarkets and warehouses in a nationwide campaign. The raids yielded thousands of tons of hidden food supplies that merchants were accused of hoarding after the system of price controls took effect, the Keyhan newspaper reported.

President Hashemi Rafsanjani announced this month that the crackdown against profiteers was part of an effort to turn the open market into an "Islamic market" where profit would have to be fair.

Analysts attribute the volatility of Iran's economic transition to a lack of long-term planning, the emergence of monopolies and oligopolies that prevent market forces from working properly.

"We have a hodgepodge economy," said Kamal Athari, an economist and researcher at the state-run Urban Planning Center. "Wealthy bazaar businessmen and special interest groups have formed monopolies engaging in foreign trade and buying state-owned industries. This has prevented real privatization and the emergence of entrepreneurs, impeding recovery, especially in the industrial sector."

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Muslims Urged to Target Clinton

Reuters

TEHRAN — A leading Iranian hard-liner, Ali Akbar Mohtashami, in an interview published Sunday, called on Muslims to avenge the killing of more than a dozen Gazans by targeting President Bill Clinton and Israeli leaders.

"Definitely the revenge should target the real terrorists: criminal Americans and the Zionists who have bases in the heart of Tel Aviv and other places," he told the Jahan Eslam newspaper.

He said that Mr. Clinton, Prime Minister

Yitzhak Rabin of Israel and Yitzhak Shamir, a former Israeli prime minister, "are directly behind this crime which was only carried out by Arafat."

He was referring to Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization. "Naturally, Arafat and his clique come next in line to be punished," he added.

Mr. Mohtashami has been on the sidelines of Iranian politics for the past two years following the defeat of his radical faction in elections.

13 Killed in Pakistani Port As Rival Factions Do Battle

Agence France-Presse

KARACHI, Pakistan — The death toll in two days of unrest has risen to 13 in this southern Pakistani port city, local hospi-

tals said Sunday, as clashes continued between two rival factions of the ethnic Muhajir Qaumi Movement.

The worst fighting was reported in the industrial areas of Korangi, where witnesses reported running gun battles between the factions.

The army, which has been deployed in southern Sind Province since June 1992, was patrolling the Korangi area, which is heavily populated.

More than 20 people have been treated for gunshot wounds over the past two days, hospital sources said.

WORLD BRIEFS

Ireland's Probable New Leader Vows To Give Priority to the Peace Process

LONDON (Reuters) — Bertie Ahern, who is expected to become Ireland's new prime minister, pledged Sunday to get the Northern Ireland peace process back on track after a traumatic political week in the republic.

Mr. Ahern, 43, who was elected unopposed on Saturday as leader of Fianna Fail, Ireland's largest political party, said in a television interview: "Peace on the island, saving lives is more important than any other political objective."

He now faces delicate backroom negotiations with the Labor Party, Fianna Fail's coalition partners who brought down Prime Minister Albert Reynolds over his handling of an extradition case.

Mr. Ahern, who currently is finance minister and is the youngest leader in his party's 70-year history, said: "Whatever we do, we must try to end the political instability, build on the peace process and try and get that back on the rails quickly."

7 Share First U.K. Lottery Jackpot

LONDON (AP) — Britain's first lottery attracted nearly 25 million people, the organizers said Sunday, and the £5.9 million jackpot will be shared among seven winning tickets. The company that runs the lottery, Camelot Group PLC, estimated that bettors spent around £49 million on tickets. The odds of correctly guessing the six winning numbers from 1 to 49 were nearly 14 million to 1. Proceeds from the lottery will support the arts, sports and charities.

UN Nuclear Experts Go to Pyongyang

VIENNA (AFP) — Technical experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency headed to North Korea on Sunday to discuss with officials there the "freezing" of five graphite nuclear plants, said Hans-Friedrich Meyer, an agency spokesman. The agency has been ordered by the UN Security Council to monitor later this month the freezing of five graphite nuclear plants in accordance with an agreement signed by Pyongyang and Washington in Geneva last month.

In the agreement, Washington promised to replace the graphite plants, which are capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium, with light-water reactors, financed by the United States, Japan and South Korea.

Opposition Leads in Italy Exit Polls

ROME (Reuters) — Parties opposed to Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's coalition looked set to emerge as leaders in the first round of voting for mayors in five of seven large towns involved in local Italian elections on Sunday, an exit poll showed.

More than 2.6 million Italians were eligible to vote in mayoral elections in 242 municipalities. The seven most-watched races, which were the subject of an initial exit poll, were in Brescia, Massa Carrara, Pisa, Brindisi, Pescara, Sondrio and Treviso.

The most significant successes for the opposition were in Brescia, where Mino Martinazzoli, a former Christian Democrat, led Industry Minister Vito Gnutti of the Northern League by 9 percentage points and in Massa Carrara where the center-left candidate led by 22 points.

For the Record

The ferry replacing the Estonia, which sank in September with the loss of 900 lives, was being repaired Sunday after crashing into a pier at Tallinn, Estonia, as it was leaving for Stockholm. The Mare Balticum was not badly damaged. (Reuters)

TRAVEL UPDATE

Greek air traffic controllers began a series of four-hour work stoppages on Sunday, forcing airport officials to reschedule dozens of domestic and international flights. The controllers want higher salaries and pensions and the replacement of an outdated radar system at Athens's airport tower. (Reuters)

This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

TUESDAY: Lebanon.
WEDNESDAY: Japan.
THURSDAY: Puerto Rico, United States.
FRIDAY: Bosnia-Herzegovina.
SATURDAY: Mongolia.

Sources: J.P. Morgan, Reuters.

BREITLING
1884

AEROSPACE

Altitude, speed and time are still shown in modern cockpits by means of a pointer or needle — gradually because this set of indicators wrapping over a circular gauge is what a pilot sees best, particularly when he also has to keep track of countless other pieces of information. But digital readouts can for instance provide times to 1/10th of a second and alphanumeric data along with simplifying the setting of programmable functions. These display principles contribute to the AEROSPACE's design excellence which, in turn, explains its selection as the personal instrument of many of the world's finest aerobatics teams.

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Agence France-Presse

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The worst fighting was reported in the industrial areas of Korangi, where witnesses reported running gun battles between the factions.

The army, which has been deployed in southern Sind Province since June 1992, was patrolling the Korangi area, which is heavily populated.

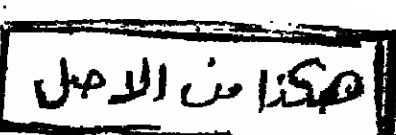
More than 20 people have been treated for gunshot wounds over the past two days, hospital sources said.

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Cab Calloway Dies, Flamboyant Figure Of the Big Band Era

By John S. Wilson
New York Times Service

Cab Calloway, 86, the flamboyant bandleader who strutted and sang his way to fame as the "Hi-de-ho Man" of jazz, died Friday in a nursing home in Hockessin, Delaware. He lived in Greenburgh, New York.

He had suffered a stroke in June, said his wife, Nuffie. Mr. Calloway, who gave up law school and spurned an offer to play basketball with the Harlem Globetrotters for his music, led one of the most successful bands in the Big Band era.

The trademark Calloway image, combining an almost catlike grace with a singing style that could be slyly insinuating one moment and wildly exuberant the next, came into full bloom on a stage in 1931 when he was leading his band in a radio broadcast from the Cotton Club in Harlem.

He had recently written "Minnie the Moocher," a new radio theme song for his band. It combined a melody that was close to the band's previous theme, "St. James Infirmary." As he started to sing, Mr. Calloway suddenly realized that he could not remember the lyrics.

"I couldn't leave a blank there as I might have done if we weren't on the air," he wrote in his autobiography, "Of Minnie the Moocher and Me." "I had to fill the space, so I started to scat-sing the first thing that came into my mind."

What he scatted was: "Hi-de-hi-de-hi-de-ho. Ho-de-ho-de-hee. Oodlee-oodlee-oodlee-oodlee-doo."

"The crowd went crazy," Calloway recalled. "I asked the band to follow me. I sang 'Ho-de-hi-de-hi-de-ho.' And the band responded. I sang, 'Dwa-de-dwa-de-dwa-de-doo.' I asked the audience to join in. They hollered back and nearly brought the roof down."

His record of "Minnie the Moocher," issued in 1931, became his first big hit and gave him an immediate identity. In 1980, he introduced the song to a new generation in the film "The Blues Brothers."

Cabell Calloway was born on Dec. 25, 1907, in Rochester, New York. His father was a lawyer, his mother a teacher. The family soon moved to Baltimore, where he was reared. His sister, Blanche, got him his

first show-business job singing in "Plantation Days," a touring show in which she was singing. When the tour ended in Chicago, Mr. Calloway kept a promise made to his sister that he would enter law school. He was also playing basketball well enough to get an offer from the Globetrotters, and was moonlighting as a singer at the Sunset Cafe, where Louis Armstrong was playing in Carroll Dickerson's orchestra.

Mr. Calloway and Mr. Armstrong became friendly during the six months they were together at the club. Mr. Armstrong was already scat-singing, and he planted the seeds for Mr. Calloway's later success.

As Cab Calloway and His Orchestra, his band replaced Duke Ellington's orchestra in 1930 at the Cotton Club, broadcasting from there almost nightly. The band continued to play and record until 1948, when, as the Big Band era faded, he played with smaller groups.

Among the songs he made famous were "Jim, Jam, Jump," "Are You All Right?" "The Jumpin' Jive," "Boogie Woogie," and "Peck-a-Boogie Doo." A lexicographer as well as a composer, Mr. Calloway compiled the "Hipster's Dictionary."

Beginning in 1952, he toured the world playing sports. Life in "Porgy and Bess," a role that the composer George Gershwin had modeled on his performing style in 1935. In 1967, he was in an all-black version of "Hello, Dolly!" with Pearl Bailey.

Erwin N. Griswold, 90, former Solicitor General of the United States, died Nov. 19, 1994, in Boston. He was 90, was a solicitor general in the Johnson and Nixon administrations and whose more than 100 cases before the Supreme Court included the Pentagon Papers arguments, died Saturday.

His legal career spanned 65 years, more than half on the faculty of Harvard Law School. He was dean there for 21 years before joining the Johnson administration in 1967 as solicitor general, the government's top-ranking courtroom lawyer. He argued more cases, 127, before the nation's highest court than any other living attorney.

In 1971, he argued on behalf of the Nixon administration in attempting to halt publication of the so-called Pentagon Papers, which chronicled the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Mr. Griswold, a liberal Republican, argued unsuccessfully that publishing the federal documents would "have the effect of causing immediate and irreparable harm to the security of the United States."

Patrick Dean, 85, Britain's representative at the United Nations from 1960 to 1964 and ambassador to the United States from 1965 to 1969, died Nov. 5 in Kingston, Surrey.



Soldiers detaining suspects Sunday in a Rio de Janeiro slum during a crackdown on crime. Hundreds were arrested.

Military Sweeps Into Rio's Drug Slums

RIO DE JANEIRO — Hundreds of sailors moved into a Rio slum Sunday, joining the army in a campaign aimed at the 1,800 drug lords who reign over the city's hillsides.

More than 600 members of the Brazilian Navy stepped up operations early Sunday near Rio's international airport at the Dende slum, believed to hold the largest stockpile of drug lords' weapons.

The huge military operation, which includes the federal police, tanks, jeeps, helicopters and 2,000 soldiers, has occupied seven shantytowns, several of which border fashionable residential districts.

In the first sign of resistance, an army recruit was grazed by a bullet Saturday.

James Brooke of The New York Times reported earlier from Rio de Janeiro: The deployment is the greatest show of army force here since the Brazilian military relinquished power to civilians in 1985. On Saturday, 50 people were detained in the shantytowns, most of them because they lacked legal documents or were suspected of drug purchases or trafficking, the authorities said.

Criminal sweeps in the shantytowns normally are handled by the state military police, who answer only to state governors and are widely feared by residents for their tactics of extortion, intimidation and violence.

Twenty years ago, the army also was deeply feared because it repressed urban guerrilla movements with torture and assassinations. Although such memories have faded for many people, the civilian leadership's decision to call out army troops underscores an impression that drug trafficking in Brazil is spiraling out of control.

President Itamar Franco announced three weeks ago that the army would intervene, as an increase in crime threatened the image of the country's traditional tourist capital.

The deployment also has coincided with a visit by Defense Secretary William J. Perry of the United States, who described international drug enforcement as a top priority.

ITO: Judge Becomes the Dominant Personality in Trial

Continued from Page 1

people. As the case has progressed, he has become the dominant personality. He has hauled thunderbolts at the press. He has used letters from the general public as props. He has been dramatic, engaging and unpredictable.

Then came the interview. To the surprise of everyone observing the case, Judge Ito appeared two Sundays ago on the Los Angeles station KCBS's program "Face to Face with Trivia Toyota." Taped in October, even as Judge Ito was railing from the bench about the irresponsible media, the interview contained no bombshell pronouncements and indeed showed Judge Ito to be a reflective, sincere, witty person. The problem is that judges just don't do this sort of thing.

Overnight, Judge Ito became Lance, the local Asian American boy who made good, son of Japanese parents who were forced into an internment camp in Wyoming during World War II.

The television station hyped the interviews with constant promos. Prospective jurors sat them and told Judge Ito so in court.

Reporters were scornful. Judge Ito had berated them for weeks for sensationalizing the case, and suddenly he was on television himself saying things

like, "I have newfound empathy for people like Cher and Madonna who have to put up with this every day."

In the interviews, he tried to play down his star status. "I take solace in the fact that nobody remembers who the judge was in the Lindbergh case, nobody remembers who the judge was in the William Kennedy Smith case, nobody remembers who the judge was in the Mike Tyson case, nobody remembers who the judge was in the Charles Keating case, nobody remembers the judges, so this will all pass."

Those judges also did not grant interviews to a television station during the trial and talk about their childhoods. Not even the judge in the Charles Keating case, Lance Ito.

Legal observers were appalled. "It's a disgraceful performance," said Barry Tarlow, a Los Angeles defense attorney. "It calls into question whether he has lost his sense of judgment and appropriateness."

He added, "It's clear to me that he has been seduced by the siren song of publicity."

Peter Aracella, a law professor at the University of California at Los Angeles, said: "His giving this interview only contributes to the circus-like atmosphere."

On Monday, the Ito angle

will become even more complicated when his wife, Captain Margaret York of the Los Angeles police department, appears before another judge in a Simpson-related hearing. Mr. Simpson's lawyers want to know what Captain York's role might have been in an internal investigation in 1985 of Detective Mark Fuhrman, who said he found a bloody glove at Mr. Simpson's estate after the murders. Mr. Simpson's lawyers might want Captain York to testify at Mr. Simpson's trial — a perplexing scenario given that her husband is the judge.

Robert L. Shapiro, attorney for Mr. Simpson, says he does not want to embarrass Judge Ito. But when asked if he might seek to have him removed from the case, Mr. Shapiro did not rule out the possibility.

Mr. Simpson, meanwhile, has become the forgotten man of the trial. He is a piece of furniture, over there on the left, at the end of the table near the bailiff. His attorneys do not let him talk. He smiles sometimes. He laughs sometimes. He closes his eyes and rubs his face mournfully. He is a professional murder defendant.

Judge Ito has top billing for the moment. One friend says he is for now the most famous graduate of the University of California at Berkeley Law School.

HELMS: Reservations on Clinton

Continued from Page 1

Kansas, declined to criticize Mr. Helms on Sunday, offered only qualified support for the president and laid out what they see as the Democratic president's foreign policy flaws. Senator Dole said he had had reservations about Mr. Clinton early on but that he had "done a little better" recently in leading the military.

"I think he's up to the job, but I'd prefer somebody else in 1996," Mr. Dole said.

Mr. Panetta termed Mr. Helms's view "pretty narrow" and said the senator did not support trade agreements nor the Middle East peace process and favored apartheid in South Africa and some military dictators overseas.

Under the constitution, the president is commander in chief of all the armed forces. In his two years in office, Mr. Clinton has ordered a missile strike on Baghdad, sent troops to Kuwait and into Haiti, and pulled troops out of Somalia after casualties were sustained.

Mr. Helms has long been a severe critic of the president and vehemently opposes the U.S. intervention in Haiti.

He was asked in the CNN interview whether he believed Mr. Clinton had demonstrated

an ability to command the armed forces.

"No I do not," he responded. "And neither do the people in the armed forces."

Mr. Helms cited letters he had received from military men, including generals.

General Shalikashvili, a Clinton appointee, responded in a prepared statement, saying that the president "has and will continue to have the full support and loyalty of the Joint Chiefs."

In televised interviews Sunday, Republican leaders were hardly supportive of Mr. Clinton.

Representative Bill Archer of Texas, incoming chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, was asked if Mr. Clinton was up to the job of commander in chief. His response: "Certainly there are problems for a person of the background of Bill Clinton."

Senator Orrin G. Hatch, Republican of Utah, asked the same question, declared that the White House had been "naïve" in its dealings with North Korea and had "bought off" Haiti's military leaders to leave power.

He said Mr. Clinton had been "doing better" lately, but added that he was "very alarmed and concerned" by White House policies abroad.

GAZA: A Plea for Economic Help

Continued from Page 1

"this is the beginning of the end for Arafat." Hamas's armed wing threatened "hitter revenge" for what it called a massacre on Friday, while in turn Mr. Arafat's El Fatah faction said it was poised to strike against what it described as a foreign-orchestrated conspiracy against Palestinian self-rule.

For the first time since the disorders, Mr. Arafat ventured just beyond the gates of his Mediterranean beachfront headquarters for a brief appearance to wave at 150 cheering Fatah supporters and to appeal for unity against unnamed forces that have "orders from outside to harm the Palestinian dream."

But he has made no conciliatory speech to Palestinians in general, many of whom continued to denounce him as a traitor for letting his police officers fire on fellow Palestinians.

Israel, Mr. Arafat's negotiating partner and the occupying force throughout Gaza until last May, also kept a low profile. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, in New York City on Sunday, urged his cabinet ministers to say little and "leave it to the Palestinians to deal with their internal matters." Speaking out in support of Mr. Arafat at this point, the Israelis reasoned, would only persuade many Gazans that he is collaborating with them, as Hamas charges.

Israelis were nervous, however, especially troops guarding the isolated Netzarim settlement, near Gaza City, where a soldier was shot and killed from a passing car on Saturday night. He was the fourth Israeli to die in the last nine days at an outpost that a majority of Mr. Rabin's cabinet says should not even be there.

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NATO: Croatia Strikes Authorized
Continued from Page 1
military officials in Bosnia requested them.
How to respond to attacks on the UN protected areas around Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, and other enclaves in Bihac and Srebrenica has been a contentious issue for the alliance.
Britain and France, which together provide nearly 10,000 troops to the UN peacekeeping force in Bosnia, have consistently pushed for restraint by NATO for fear of provoking retaliation against the peacekeepers, while the Clinton administration has argued for a credible threat of strong action to deter aggression.
More than a week ago, the Clinton administration bowed to pressure from Congress and ordered U.S. Navy ships under NATO command in the Adriatic to do nothing to enforce the UN-ordered blockade of arms

GAZA: A Plea for Economic Help
Continued from Page 1
shipments to the Bosnian government.
The alliance, whose senior military commander is an American general in Brussels, decided last week to keep on enforcing it even without U.S. cooperation. American ships did not pull out of the blockade but are under orders not to pass on to the allies information about arms shipments to the Bosnians.
With the alliance divided and still unable to halt the war, some senior American political leaders say NATO has failed to show that it has a useful role after the Cold War.
French, German and British politicians have also become increasingly interested in strengthening the European Union's ability to pursue military strategies of its own choosing, even when the United States disagrees.

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Journalist Ban Stirs Fears for East Timor

Rights Groups See Repression As Jakarta Faults Reporters

By Philip Shenon
New York Times Service

DENPASAR, Indonesia — As the police struggled to restore order in East Timor after the largest anti-government demonstrations in years, the Indonesian government said it would temporarily bar foreign reporters from visiting the disputed province.

The move alarmed human-rights groups, which have warned of a new, violent crackdown on dissidents in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and later annexed.

Order was restored Saturday in Dili, the East Timor capital, after a week of demonstrations that embarrassed the Indonesian government as it played host to a meeting of Asia-Pacific leaders, including President Bill Clinton, who raised the issue of human-rights abuses in East Timor in a meeting with President Suharto.

On Friday, hundreds of anti-government protesters took to the streets in Dili in a noisy demonstration that turned violent when the protesters encountered a small group of stone-throwing government supporters, most of them Indonesians from other parts of the country who had settled in East Timor. At least two people were reported seriously wounded.

A government official said the move to ban foreign journalists, announced Saturday, was motivated by a concern that some of the reporters now in East Timor were inciting the demonstrators.

"The journalists are acting in an unjournalistic way," said the official.

He cited the case of a Japanese television reporter who has been accused by the Indonesian police of giving an anti-government banner to East Timorese students and urging them to un-

furl it for the cameras. The reporter has denied the accusation.

A spokeswoman for Amnesty International, Estrellita Jones, said by telephone from Washington that the move to bar foreign reporters "is certainly most ominous."

2 Leave U.S. Embassy

Two East Timorese protesters left the U.S. Embassy on Sunday, leaving 27 colleagues to continue their eight-day-old demonstration demanding that Indonesia release a jailed rebel leader. The Associated Press reported from Jakarta.

One of the two had suffered a neck injury when the protesters scaled a fence to enter the embassy grounds on Nov. 12, said Domingos Sarmiento, a spokesman for the group. The other was accompanying him to seek treatment, he added.



Some of the East Timorese occupying part of the U.S. Embassy grounds in Jakarta reading about the violence in Dili.

Angola Peace Shaky As Treaty Is Signed Without 2 Leaders

The Associated Press

LUSAKA, Zambia — Angola's government and rebels signed a peace treaty on Sunday, but their leaders did not sign, heightening fears that the agreement would not end 19 years of civil war.

The UNITA rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, did not attend, his aides said, because government attacks made it impossible for him to leave his bush camp in Angola.

President José Eduardo dos Santos was at the ceremony in Lusaka. But, rather than put his signature alongside that of a UNITA deputy, he designated Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura to represent the government.

The head of a rebel delegation, who goes by the nom de guerre of General Eugénio Manuvaloka, represented UNITA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

A permanent cease-fire was to take effect in two days. A truce was to have preceded the signing as a demonstration of good faith, but fighting continued up to Saturday.

The new treaty calls for UNITA fighters to gather at assembly points, turn in weapons and either be sent home or report for training in the existing army. It sets up a joint commission, with the United States, Russia and Portugal as observers, to oversee proper implementation, and turns over security to a 7,000-member United Nations force to be deployed in upcoming months.

"All Angolans should forget the suffering of the Angolan conflict and face the future with solidarity and trust," General Manuvaloka said after signing the treaty, stressing he was acting on behalf of Mr. Savimbi.

But Angolans were subdued and skeptical.

"Only with the signatures of President José Eduardo dos Santos and the leader of the rebels, Jonas Savimbi, will the cease-fire be respected," the Jornal de Angola said in a front-page article in Luanda, the Angolan capital.

Hopes that one of Africa's longest and cruellest wars, with more than 500,000 dead and a potentially prosperous nation in tatters, were blunted by renewed fighting and the unpredictable political climate.

Mr. Savimbi's absence Sunday increased speculation that he had been wounded or even killed in a recent government offensive, something UNITA officials and foreign diplomats have denied.

A truce was called Wednesday, but UNITA said government troops broke it within hours. On Friday, they said all airports in rebel-controlled areas were under bombardment, preventing Mr. Savimbi from leaving for Lusaka. Fighting continued Saturday.

In Nepal Vote: Advantage, Communists

By John Ward Anderson
Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — Fed up with corruption, bickering politicians and their image as a stepchild of India, droves of citizens in the four-year-old democracy of Nepal have deserted the ruling party and voted for a Communist government.

As counting continued Sunday in the second nationwide parliamentary elections since democracy was restored to the tiny Himalayan kingdom in 1990, it became clear that the ruling Nepali Congress Party had lost its majority to a surprisingly strong showing by the Communist Party of Nepal United Marxist-Leninist, known as the UML.

With all but 10 races decided in the 205-member parliament, it was apparent that no party would win the 103 seats necessary to rule, and that a coalition government would have to be formed. Intense negotiations and lobbying were

under way in the capital, Kathmandu, with the Communists trying to lure dissidents away from the faction-ridden Congress Party to form what would apparently be the world's first Communist monarchy.

Although the UML promised land reform and other communist-style initiatives during the election, the party is not hard-line communist and is often compared with Europe's social democratic parties. UML leaders campaigned vigorously over the years for an end to Nepal's absolute monarchy and a return to multiparty democracy.

"They're very moderate, very sensible and almost indistinguishable from the Nepali Congress," said Leo Rose, former professor of political science at the University of California and an expert in South Asian politics.

A Western diplomat in Kathmandu said: "We don't think we're looking at a

radical change here. This is not a Stalinist, revolutionary party."

Nepal was ruled by a hereditary monarchy from 1960 until 1990, when a popular uprising forced King Birendra to give up many of his powers and permit elected governments.

Despite its ranking as one of the world's most backward nations — annual per capita income is about \$180 and literacy is about 25 percent — the campaign turned on relations with India, pleas for stability and personality clashes.

Political analysts said that although there was an abundance of Communist sloganeering during the campaign, the election was less a vote for communism than a backlash against the Congress Party and its Prime Minister, Girija Prasad Koirala, whose three-year administration was plagued with charges of corruption and subservience to India.

Chissano Wins With 53% Of the Vote in Mozambique

Reuters

MAPUTO, Mozambique — President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and his governing Frelimo party have won the country's first multiparty elections with 53.3 percent of the presidential vote and 129 of the 250 parliamentary seats.

"The winner of the elections was the Mozambican people," Mr. Chissano said in a national radio and television broadcast from his Frelimo party headquarters where he watched the announcement of the results Saturday on television.

Former rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama, whose party took 112 parliamentary seats, conceded defeat in the final tally from the Oct. 27-29 polls, but

said he still believed the elections had been free with irregularities.

"We accept the election results, but they were not fair," he said at a news conference at his Maputo residence.

The president of the National Electoral Commission, Brazão Mazula, said Mr. Dhlakama had come in second with 33.7 percent of votes for president.

Mr. Chissano appealed in his address for a final end to the civil war that raged for 16 years from independence until the signing of a peace accord with Mozambique National Resistance Movement in October 1992. He said Mr. Dhlakama should be treated with "dignity."

Mr. Chissano said government troops broke it within hours. On Friday, they said all airports in rebel-controlled areas were under bombardment, preventing Mr. Savimbi from leaving for Lusaka. Fighting continued Saturday.

BOOKS

THE VILLAGERS. Changed Values, Altered Lives: The Closing of the Urban-Rural Gap

By Richard Critchfield. 497 pages. \$27.50. Anchor.

Reviewed by Jonathan Yardley

RICHARD Critchfield is by his own account neither a historian nor an anthropologist but "a reporter who writes about villages, a nonintellectual writing essentially for nonintellectuals, certainly for non-academics." This means that his books, of which "The Villagers" is the ninth, are informal in tone, as much descriptive as interpretive, and closely attuned to the newsworthy events of our time. His abiding preoccupation is with villages around the world, their economies, culture and mores; in this book, his particular concern is with the fate of villages in a world of massive and near-instantaneous change.

In all his books, he writes, his "hope is to leave a record, as set down by a witness, to show interested readers what life was like for a few ordinary villagers in our tumultuous times." That task now has acquired a special urgency because the traditional village is rapidly vanishing, the victim of five broad influences that are this book's principal concerns: "traditional village society adapting to an exchange economy and commercial television culture, the religious fundamentalism it can provoke, challenges to inherited patterns of authority, cross-cultural migration and rapid agricultural change."

Critchfield's method is to go to a village and settle in for weeks or months. He is a journalist of the old-fashioned school who believes that his

subject is more important than himself, with the happy consequence that he permits his villagers to speak and act as themselves; their lives may be filtered through the screen that he provides, but for the most part he manages to keep it almost entirely invisible.

This time he visits villages in Poland, Egypt, Indonesia, South Korea, Mexico, California, Kenya, the Sahel, Ghana and India. His intent is to see how much of the old culture has survived into the late 20th century, and how much has been washed away or traumatically altered by the closing of the gap between city and country.

Although Critchfield is a partisan of village life who feels that one of the great problems of contemporary urban society is its alienation from its village roots, he readily acknowledges the benign effects of what must be called Westernization. Chief among these are the agricultural miracles that have been worked by the Green Revolution. Thus he welcomes the remarkable increase in agricultural productivity that has been brought about in the Punjab of India, even as he laments the cost that has been exacted in dying old traditions.

In some ways his most optimistic chapter involves Popow, a farming village in Poland that is slowly being brought into the 20th century as a consequence of freedoms resulting from the breakup of the Soviet empire. He finds there "Europe's last authentic peasantry," but also a village struggling to raise its economic prospects through various up-to-date endeavors. What most impresses him is the resilience with which the village holds on to its heritage.

But to suggest that Critchfield is optimistic about the future of villages would be a thorough misreading of this and his other books. He laments not merely the decline of the villages but the concomitant decline, in the larger society, of traditional sources of individual and communal strength: the family, the farm, religion.

He writes: "The questions really facing us, in America and all over the world are: Can we invent a substitute for the shrinking rural base of our increasingly urban sprawl? Can

WHAT THEY'RE READING

- William Gaddis, whose novel, "A Frolic of His Own," won the 1994 National Book Award for fiction, is reading "Erewhon" by Samuel Butler.
- "It's such a terrific picture of the Republic 'Contract with America.' It's shows a society in which illness is a crime, and that sort of thing."
- (Lawrence Malkin, IHT)

urban living on a long-term basis stabilize for human beings? Can village-like groups be found within city living that can give our lives the meaning and cultural guidance that rural life provides? Can cities be made humanly and intellectually acceptable to all their inhabitants?"

Though Critchfield may deny and/or misunderstand the gen-

Jonathan Yardley is on the staff of The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

A bid that inexperienced players neglect in response to a takeout double is the preemptive jump short of game. Michael Lawrence used it as East on the diagrammed deal, and his partner, Eddie Kantar, put on pressure by bidding five hearts. He expected a 10-card fit, and was willing to pay a small penalty for the chance of pushing the opposition to a precarious height.

Five hearts doubled would have failed by just one trick, and North, naturally, tried five spades. Now the obvious lead of a top heart would have allowed South to succeed, but Kantar made the thoughtful lead of his singleton club. He foresaw the possibility of scoring a club ruff if he kept a line of communication open in the heart suit.

The club lead was won in the dummy, and the spade queen was led. West held up his ace for one round, eager to see a discard from his partner. On the next round, East threw the diamond three, and West drew the right inference by asking himself why East had not thrown a heart.

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:

West North East South
1♠ 1♥ 1♠ 1♥
2♠ 2♥ 2♠ 2♥
3♠ 3♥ 3♠ 3♥
4♠ 4♥ 4♠ 4♥
5♥ 5♥ 5♥ 5♥
Pass Pass

West led the club six.

Mandela Terms U.S. Aid Plan 'Peanuts'

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — President Nelson Mandela has criticized the United States' three-year, \$600 million aid program to his newly democratic country as "peanuts," causing confusion among American officials who say they are South Africa's most generous bilateral donor.

South Africa has received "very limited support indeed" from the United States, Mr. Mandela said at a press conference last week. "It is peanuts — 600 million rand over three years."

In his remark, Mr. Mandela confused the dollar with the rand, leading some diplomats to wonder initially if he was simply misinformed about the size of the package. The program actually amounts to 2.1 billion rand over three years.

But Mr. Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlama, said that the mix-up was just a slip of the tongue and that the substance of his remark stood.

"The president expects more from the United States," Mr. Mankahlama said. "He feels that, relative to the size of the U.S. economy, the aid program here is small."

The spokesman added that Mr. Mandela had raised the matter with President Bill Clinton in Washington last month, but that Mr. Clinton "apparently wasn't convinced."

In May, immediately after the election that brought Mr. Mandela to power, Mr. Clinton announced a \$600 million trade, investment and development package for the country. It was a doubling of the previous U.S. assistance level here

and represents the largest Agency for International Development program in sub-Saharan Africa.

For the first time, the bulk of the money is going into government programs. Under white-minority rule, all U.S. assistance here was channeled to anti-apartheid nongovernmental institutions.

According to South African officials, foreign donors have

pledged a total of about \$3 billion in assistance over the next three years to help the new democracy get on its feet.

The Japanese have made the biggest pledge, offering \$1.3 billion over two years. But the vast majority of that money is in the form of concessional loans and trade and commercial credits.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman said that no country would provide more than the United States in direct grants.

CONFERENCES, COURSES AND EXHIBITIONS

NOV. 26-27 (8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.)	FEB. 25-28, 1995
WORLD ENERGIE INDEX General Interest Initiative to be held in the Nice Accorotel, France. Dinner fee includes the program, reserved seat, badge and subsequent report. Limited number of places. Maitre de Tribune: 2,800 F Lectures: 1,700 F Congressmen: 1,000 F General public: 250 F Associations: 50 F Reservations by fax (33) 83 27 09 31 and by mail. Secretaries EVALORATECH Expertes BP 55, 54602 Villers-les-Nancy Cedex FRANCE. Tel: (33) 83 28 31 08.	Africa Trade & Investment Conference To take place in Libreville, Gabon, this high-level conference will bring together business and industry leaders from the whole of Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas, along with African government and business leaders to discuss trade & investment opportunities in Africa. Key topics include investment climates, sources of finance, Africa's stock markets and specific industries. Contact: Barbara Hayward USA Tel: (202) 862-3955 USA Fax: (202) 862-3956
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Helms's Reckless Words

Senator Jesse Helms, chair apparent of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is an ideological distrustful of international trade agreements, arms control treaties, foreign aid, the United Nations and multilateral cooperation in general. He is also a skilled attention-getter and tactician who knows how to raise the profile of an important committee that has drifted close to irrelevance under its current Democratic chairman, Claiborne Pell.

Will Mr. Helms be a constructive or a destructive force? The first signs are not encouraging. On Tuesday, Mr. Helms tried to bully President Bill Clinton into delaying a vote on the Uruguay Round world trade agreement. Mr. Clinton's decision on this matter, Mr. Helms suggested, would affect his own willingness to give full and fair consideration to the president's entire foreign policy agenda in the next session.

Friday he went beyond rudeness to recklessness by challenging Mr. Clinton's fitness to serve as commander in chief and alleging that many officers agreed with his view. The voters and the U.S. Constitution have made Mr. Clinton commander in chief whether Mr. Helms likes it or not.

In his years as a foreign policy gadfly to the Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton administrations, Mr. Helms has sometimes been a positive influence. He has, for example, consistently made an issue of human rights violations and offenses against democracy in China and Mexico. But he has also held meritorious ambassadorial nominations hostage for petty and even vindictive reasons. For example, he blocked confirmation of Robert Pastor as

ambassador to Panama because of Mr. Pastor's work in the Carter administration in support of the Panama Canal treaties. Mr. Helms has taken a shortsighted view of American security by opposing arms control agreements and aid to post-Communist Russia. His hostility to international peacekeeping and cooperative security could complicate America's efforts to take part in the new security arrangements emerging in Europe and Asia.

The senator's power to obstruct and delay, already formidable as ranking minority member, will now be greatly enhanced at a time when a new strategic arms agreement and an important chemical weapons convention will be coming up for Senate approval.

On the trade agreement, Senator Bob Dole, not Mr. Helms, is likely to be the key Republican player. Meanwhile, more moderate Republicans on the new Foreign Relations Committee, like James Jeffords, Nancy Kassebaum, Richard Lugar and Frank Murkowski are unlikely to lead themselves to across-the-board obstructionism.

A strong congressional voice is absolutely necessary to assure adequate public debate and democratic decision-making. But because of the way the constitution divides foreign policy responsibilities, cooperation between the president and the Senate, especially Mr. Helms's committee, is a practical necessity for maintaining a coherent foreign policy.

Seniority and a sweeping Republican victory have given Jesse Helms his committee chair. Americans can only hope he will use his position more responsibly than his recent words suggest.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clear the Air With Russia

The Russian city of Sverdlovsk suffered an anthrax epidemic in 1979 that Soviet-era officials attributed to contaminated meat. Now there is proof of what Washington long suspected: that the outbreak was caused by airborne anthrax released from a military microbiology facility.

The report, published by a team of U.S. and Russian scientists in the current Science magazine, traces many of the victims to an area south of the plant. The obvious surmise is that the installation was manufacturing germ-warfare agents, a violation of the 1972 treaty banning biological weapons.

The findings should accelerate U.S. efforts to strengthen the 1972 ban, which was signed without verification procedures. True, small quantities of germ warfare agents can easily be concealed, making the ban difficult to ver-

fy, but larger amounts in weapon form are harder to hide.

The main impediment to germ warfare remains what it was when the ban was signed — doubt that germs can be precisely targeted in a militarily useful way. Russia now apparently shares that judgment. Some Russians cooperated in the inquiry, and President Boris Yeltsin has spoken with unusual candor: "The KGB admitted that our military developments were the cause."

Many Russian scientists who worked on germ warfare are now eager to do something else, like develop pharmaceuticals and monitor health threats. The institutes that employ these scientists seek money for military-to-civilian conversion. Such collaboration is a smart way to get Russia out of germ warfare for good.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Guatemalan Will

Behind the personal drama of an American woman's search for her missing guerrilla husband in Guatemala lies a political drama that has unfortunately been obscured. That that they are unrelated, Jennifer Harbury's so far unavailing quest for Efraim Velásquez Velásquez illustrates for an international public a lack of official accountability all too familiar to the families of the large number of Guatemalans killed or "disappeared" at official hands. But the largest event of Guatemala's incipient effort to put aside its violent past also is part of the picture.

The armed forces are armed and make the old El Salvador's army forces — the killers of the Jesuits — look well-behaved. Importantly, Ms. Harbury, a lawyer from Washington, the army has dodged and lied and failed to provide verifiable facts about the missing man. Some parts of the human rights community in Guatemala have supported Ms. Harbury's campaign, which entailed a month-long hunger strike outside the National Palace. Others have noted that Mr. Bamaca is not a typically innocent Guatemalan civilian victim of army terrorism but a member of an organization itself identified with violence.

No matter. It is worth it to have the military on the defensive at this moment when a UN-sponsored renewal of Guate-

mala is taking fragile root. The government of Ramiro de León Carpio, a former human rights ombudsman, has been negotiating with the guerrillas on human rights, the role of the armed forces, the place of the majority indigenous peoples, refugees and a Salvador-like "truth commission"; other issues are to come. It is tough going: Mr. de León Carpio is a minority president, and the armed forces, unlike El Salvador's, are not vulnerable to American pressure, having been cut off years ago. But it is going.

The Cold War began, in the Western Hemisphere, in Guatemala in 1954, when the United States helped topple an elected leftist government that was beginning to take up the very questions returning to the national agenda only now. Except this time the United States is supporting, not subverting, the Guatemalan popular will as a formal "friend" of the talks, welcomed by both sides.

The renewal process is about ending the war that caught up Mr. Bamaca and many others. But his single case does not lend itself to being made a test of U.S.-Guatemalan relations. A fair result is likelier if the military can make the necessary concessions not to the United States, in which event nationalistic hackles rise, but to United Nations human rights monitors, an option now opening.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

Other Comment

Not Just Jakarta's Business

Three years after the Dili massacre, renewed disturbances in the East Timorese capital have shown again the hollowness of Indonesia's claims to authority in the former Portuguese territory. Nineteen years after the Indonesian invasion, there is no peace in East Timor. Fortunately, these latest disturbances have been met with comparative restraint by the Indonesian authorities. No doubt that is because

they occurred when the eyes of much of the world were on Indonesia, as host of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit. The latest disturbances in Dili are by no means just another internal Indonesian affair. They were accompanied by demonstrations protesting the Indonesian presence in East Timor. The issue cannot be resolved without a change in Indonesia's fundamental policies toward legitimate East Timorese aspirations.

—The Sydney Morning Herald

Secure in UN Camps, Hutu Prepare a Bloody Return

By Kathi Austin

WASHINGTON — Rwanda is about to plunge back into yet another human disaster. The Hutu leaders of the defeated Rwanda military are preparing to invade their country and retake power — all the while claiming refugee status under the mantle of the United Nations. The Hutu officers were ousted by Tutsi rebels last spring after perpetrating one of the world's most organized genocidal campaigns, which killed nearly half a million people in a few weeks.

The haunting images of this summer are already out of date. The sight of the hundreds of thousands of desperate Rwandan refugees who poured over the border into Zaire brought home to foreign viewers the death, disease, starvation and misery that this conflict has wrought. But during a recent 10-week trip to Central Africa, I also saw a different kind of refugee crossing the border — one the worldwide television audience rarely saw: former Hutu military and militia men, placed from their nightmare in Rwanda by French military forces, protected by Zairian security forces inside military camps, fed and supplied by the United Nations.

Now they are smiling, well-fed and well-rested. They wear freshly laundered uniforms, dance to blaring radios and lounge with their families. At the military camps in Zaire, there is no cholera epidemic or sign of human suffering.

These refugees are open about their plans to launch a renewed offensive against the Tutsi-led government in their homeland. For example, Eliezer Niyitegeka, who was minister of information in the former Hutu government, now living in Zaire, says: "Yes, we have our big weapons, we even have our helicopters. We will use them. And when we get enough munitions, we will go back there to Rwanda." Jean Kamukama, a former prime minister also living in Zaire, says much the same thing. They are sitting

poolside, at the exclusive Riviera Hotel in the Zairian city of Bukavu, orchestrating their campaign for a return to war.

The tragedy is that another round of bloodshed in Rwanda is being made possible partly by the huge humanitarian relief program launched last spring. Nearly \$1.5 billion from the international community has gone to support a huge

A new round of bloodshed in Rwanda is being made possible partly by the huge, well-intentioned relief program. France has also played a role.

refugee relief operation. Though well-intentioned, that money is now helping the defeated Hutu army regroup.

Meanwhile, not a dime of foreign aid has been provided to the new Rwanda government, either for reconstruction or to protect this newly recognized United Nations member state.

The result has been an escalation of violence inside the refugee camps near the towns of Goma and Bukavu. International relief organizations have now lost control of these camps to the extremist Hutus. These extremist elements have threatened relief workers and begun to launch skirmishes on the Zaire-Rwanda border. War is in the wind.

One cannot understand the current situation in Rwanda without looking at the role that the French government has played. Since decolonization in the 1960s, the French have cultivated allies in Central Africa. These ties, both economic and personal, have maintained

France's prominent role in the region's politics. The prime beneficiaries in Rwanda were the Hutus. Over the last 30 years, the Hutu repression of the minority Tutsis forced more than 200,000 people into exile. The new Rwanda government, dominated by Tutsis, accuses the French of blocking aid from other European countries as well as preventing the arrest of leaders of the genocide. The French have provided military and financial backing for the former Hutu-led Rwandan military regime since 1990. Even the genocide of the Tutsi minority did not shatter the French-Hutu alliance.

The French did little for the refugees seeking to escape the Hutu reign of terror last April and May. But they did provide effective cover and transportation for the escape of many former extremist leaders, the army, the gendarmes and the militia men who had participated in the slaughter. They retreated in neighboring Zaire.

Zaire is a country without an effective government. Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko established a kleptocracy in which a small ruling clique enriched itself while the rest of the country steadily slipped into anarchy. France and the UN rehabilitated the Mobutu regime ostensibly to assist with the humanitarian crisis. Zairian forces are now training the Hutu soldiers, according to Tadele Slassie, the United Nations military commander in the region. Rwandan militants are using whatever they were able to steal before fleeing the country to pay the Zairians for assistance in preparing a renewal of war in Rwanda.

In the camps in Zaire, former officials implicated in the genocide now have unchallenged power over hundreds of thousands of refugees. The remnants of the defeated Hutu regime view the camps as a power base from which to pressure the new government in Kigali a little more than 160 kilometers (100 miles) away. The politicians use the camps as their podiums, controlling the fate of hundreds of thou-

sands of lives. The military officers use the camps for training as well as stockpiling weapons and supplies. The fact that they were able to kill nearly a half million people has emboldened them to continue their war of intimidation and terror.

One worker of the international Committee for the Red Cross threw up her hands at the loss of control in the camps. "Military agents have families in the camps, so we are being forced to feed them. We feed them. Most of the NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] will. It is a life to save. We can't be the arbiters. Anyway, they would just raid the camps. So we go on taking care of them."

The fundamental issue for civilian refugees and local Rwandan population is security. If you ask people what they want most, what is most needed to rebuild their lives, they do not say plastic sheeting or food. They want protection, they want the establishment of law and order, and they want a tribunal or mechanism for justice so that the guilty and innocent can be separated and there can be punishment. Only then can one speak of normalization of life or society. Meanwhile, the Western community is trying to impose Western models of dealing with genocide like basing a war crimes commission at the Hague far away from the real life of the Rwandans.

The new Rwanda government needs the civilian refugees to come home, to help rebuild the country and prevent destabilization and fomenting of war. The former Rwandan extremist leaders, militia men and army elements, secure in United Nations camps, are preventing them. The longer they succeed, the more likely that terror will return to Rwanda.

The writer, a research fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, is a consultant to the World Bank and other international organizations. She contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

NAFTA: Clinton Should Help Open Its Doors to the Hemisphere

By Bernard Aronson

WASHINGTON — When 34 democracies convene in Miami next month for the Summit of the Americas, one question will stand out in the minds of the Latin American and Caribbean heads of state. How widely and how quickly will the door to the North American Free Trade Agreement be opened and the hemisphere's remaining democracies be invited to join?

President Bill Clinton will face enormous pressures to temporize and go slowly. As grounds for caution, some will argue that a new trade initiative could jeopardize congressional ratification of the GATT agreement. Others will cite Congress's recent failure to reauthorize presidential fast-track authority to negotiate free-trade agreements.

Instead of yielding to similar pressures to abandon NAFTA early in his presidency, Mr. Clinton

and Vice President Al Gore took their case to the public, joining Minority Whip Newt Gingrich to mobilize a bipartisan majority to ratify the treaty. Rather than go slowly at the summit, the president and his fellow heads of state should declare their intention to unite, by 2001, all the hemisphere's democracies (including, by then, Cuba) into a Western Hemisphere Free Trade Agreement.

They should establish an Americas Commission, modeled after the European Commission, to coordinate and accelerate progress toward that goal. And they should declare the Summit of the Americas an annual event. In a rotating capital, to ensure that their commitments are followed at the highest political level.

Immediately upon such an announcement, nations and regional

groups throughout the hemisphere would compete to join NAFTA and reap the reward of increased foreign investment. To gain admittance, they would have to guarantee democracy, open their economies fully to investment, goods and services from fellow NAFTA members, protect intellectual property and show respect for labor rights and the environment. The Clinton administration could not design an aid program that would advance U.S. interests and ideals across the Americas more quickly, or more directly strengthen the domestic economy.

Already, the United States sells as much to Brazil as it does to China, more to Mexico than to Germany and France combined, and more to Venezuela than to Russia. By the year 2010, U.S. exports to Latin America will ex-

ceed exports to the European Union by \$100 billion annually, according to the U.S. special trade representative.

But the benefits of enlarging NAFTA go further. Throughout the hemisphere, economic integration is eroding old border rivalries and fostering peaceful political cooperation. That political progress in turn greatly eases the foreign policy burdens of the United States in areas such as nuclear nonproliferation and free U.S. resources for crises such as Iraq and North Korea.

In the last century, for example, Brazil and Argentina built their railroads with different track gauges to prevent an enemy invasion by rail. Today, the two former military rivals — whose two-way trade has tripled since 1990 — are drawing up plans for a 2,400-kilometer (1,500-mile) highway to speed products between São Paulo and Buenos Aires. The two nations — once considered likely new members of the nuclear weapons club — recently negotiated an agreement to guarantee peaceful nuclear energy development under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.

Accelerating economic reform by expanding NAFTA will also strengthen democracy. That is because the old, closed system of statist economic controls throughout Latin America was the bedrock of power of the elite that financed and supported authoritarian rule. This elite profited, in turn, from economic privileges bestowed, often through corruption, by the government. Dismantling that structure has liberated not only market forces in the economy but also the forces of democratization in civil society.

As a result, popular pressures in Mexico this year led to the fairest presidential election in history. And in Brazil two years ago, public outrage forced impeachment of the president for corruption. Throughout the hemisphere, economic liberalization is empowering a new class of entrepreneurs, far more attuned to the demands of international markets than the old economic elite and far less inclined to risk economic isolation by supporting a military coup d'état.

Expanding economic reform, essential, also, to improve the lives of the hemisphere's 180 million citizens who subsist in abject poverty. In Chile, the Latin nation that has gone the farthest in liberalizing its economy and diversifying its exports, unemployment is 4.9 percent, the proportion of Chileans with low-paid, unstable work has steadily declined, and more than 600,000 citizens have been lifted from poverty.

With the recent election of committed reformers as president in both Brazil and Mexico, with democracy being re-established in Haiti, and with renewed growth and access to capital markets, Latin America and the Caribbean are poised as never before for a new, more hopeful era. With trade flowing freely across its borders, the Western Hemisphere can emerge in the 21st century as a zone of democracy and peace where rising prosperity is widely shared — a model for the rest of the world.

The writer was assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs from June 1989 to July 1993. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.



Culture War: Potshots Often Ricochet

By Frank Rich

NEW YORK — Of all the comebacks of Election '94, surely the strangest is the counter-culture. Declared dead in the 1970s and finally laid to permanent rest at Woodstock II last summer, the counter-culture was long ago annexed by a corporate culture that employs the Beatles' "Revolution" to hawk Nike running shoes.

But now Newt Gingrich, echoing other Republican moralists like William Bennett and Dan Quayle, has brought the counter-culture back — not for a reunion concert, alas, but as a scapegoat with flowers in his hair.

Not only is the counter-culture being held responsible for the excesses of Bill Clinton — a non-inhaling Fleetwood Mac fan, for all unlikely hippies — but for everything immoral, violent and sexually explicit in American culture today.

The prospect of turning back the cultural clock is scaring some in the arts and show business, who smell a whiff of McCarthyism in any cultural blame game.

The Los Angeles Times wonders if a new Republican era of movie censorship is at hand. The Washington Post reports that the networks, already terrified by a V-chip that might regulate violence in TV sets, now anticipate an S-chip regulating sex.

And every liberal watchdog worries about the future of the National Endowment for the

Arts and the Public Broadcasting System, long branded by the Gingrich gang as counter-cultural perversion incarnate.

Having run against "Murphy Brown" and Robert Mapplethorpe and lost in '92, the emboldened Republicans of '94 now apparently feel they can run against the Stones — Rolling, Oliver, Sharon, whatever — with impunity in '96. Democrats can only hope they try.

Republicans who rail against the counter-culture at this late date are far more out of touch with the public than they think. Sonny Bono's efforts to bring them up to speed notwithstanding, if a party championing smaller government now uses big-government stick to beat up on culture, it may end up maiming its own partisans.

Culture — high and low, good and bad, moral and sleazy — does not divide along party lines. Few would doubt that TV shows like "Melrose Place" and "Studs" epitomize what Mr. Gingrich vilifies in American culture, but who is responsible for them? Not the counter-culture, but Fox, the network owned by Rupert Murdoch, publisher of The New York Post, one of the most conservative papers in the United States. Who is the most successful

purveyor of violent entertainment on the big screen? Arnold Schwarzenegger, another Republican. Who is the most vocal fan of Mick Jagger and Bruce Springsteen to emerge from the elections? New York's governor-elect, George Pataki.

By contrast, it was Attorney General Janet Reno who tried to jawbone Hollywood to reduce film violence and Tipper Gore, the vice president's wife, who led a battle against dirty rock lyrics.

The audience that consumes culture, whether at chamber music concerts or multiplexes, also defies political stereotyping.

Much of the more conservative American crowd is joining its liberal neighbors in watching "Rozanne," "Interview With the Vampire" and other hit entertainments that parade single moms, homosexuals, mindless violence and other scourges of the Gingrich world view.

Instead of initiating a new round of culture wars, Republicans and Democrats alike might benefit by actually stopping to wade into the culture of 1994 and listen to what it is saying.

A few hours spent contemplating the intensely moral outlaws of "Pulp Fiction" might even help them understand why 63 percent of the country rejected both parties by electing not to vote.

The New York Times

GATT: Stop the Games and Approve It

FREE TRADE is one of the oldest ideas in the books, but now its time finally may have come.

Last year President Bill Clinton lobbied for congressional passage of the historic North American Free Trade Agreement. Congress, which never should have been so difficult on an issue so clearly in the national interest, grudgingly came through. Now Congress bodes to be difficult again on another free-trade issue — the vitally important General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. That passage is in some doubt is a commentary on how partisan and ridiculous Washington has become.

The Republican Party historically has been a signal champion of free trade. To retreat from that valuable economic philosophy now would be shameful treachery, done solely for partisan purposes: to embarrass the Democratic president.

Not that every single aspect of GATT is unblemished. But the totality of GATT, achieved after more than a decade of talks, is extraordinary. It moves the planet further from the bleak world of closed-door trading blocs and economically inefficient commerce.

Congress should approve the agreement and not risk making itself the laughingstock of the world.

— Los Angeles Times

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1894: Life After Death

NEW YORK — Can life be recalled? Is the all-absorbing topic at present in New York State, and a very interesting experiment is about to be tried — no less than an attempt to revive a man after having paid the last penalty of the law in the electric chair. Dr. P.J. Gibbons says he can and is about to experiment on the body of a murderer, Charles H. Wilson, who is soon to undergo electrocution for his crimes. Governor Flowers has given permission for the experiment and promises, if revived, the man will not again be submitted to the death penalty.

1919: England in Dismay

LONDON — [From our New York edition:] The news that the United States Senate has laid aside the treaty of peace with Germany caused undisguised dis-

may here. Simultaneously his newspaper headlines express what is manifestly England's greatest fear: namely, that America has definitely shelved the treaty, just as Mr. Lodge and his supporters predicted she would and intends to "get out from under."

1944: A Flag in Metz

METZ — [From our New York edition, Collier Small writes:] German resistance in Metz collapsed today [Nov. 20]. Western Europe's strongest fortress, last conquered by direct assault 1,500 years ago by Attila the Hun, is now almost in complete control of Lieutenant General George S. Patton's 3d Army. Tanks and infantry are moving into the heart of the city. During a two-hour cruise around the city in a Jeep I saw only one flag — an American flag that must have been hidden away for the last four years.

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OPINION

Leverage Beneath the Caspian

By Caroline Co. and John Eibner

LONDON — Last week the Azerbaijan Parliament ratified what Western oil men and officials in Baku are calling the "contract of the century."

Leading consortium, Amoco, British Petroleum and Pennzoil have reached an agreement with the Azerbaijan government that project total investment of \$8 billion in the formerly Soviet-controlled Baku oil fields. If fulfilled, Azerbaijan could become the Kuwait of the Caspian Sea.

Senior U.S. officials predict that the contract will generate economic prosperity in an un-

jan's oppressed Lezgia, Kurdish and Talysh minorities — have been press-ganged and dispatched to their deaths on the Karabakhi front.

It is this war for Nagorno-Karabakh that has transformed the potentially prosperous country into one of the greatest catastrophe zones in the Eurasian land mass. With more than 40,000 dead and more than 1 million homeless, this war has produced death and destruction comparable in scale to that in Bosnia.

Azerbaijan took the lead in introducing violence into what had been a largely peaceful political struggle by the Armenians of Karabakh to free themselves from repressive Azerbaijani rule. Azerbaijan later escalated the conflict into full-scale war.

In February 1988, an organized massacre of Armenians in the town of Sumgait was Azerbaijan's response to the Karabakhi Armenians' first public expression of the wish for freedom. Poisons followed, raising the specter of another Armenian genocide.

Azerbaijan's profus from a huge Western oil deal must not be used to fuel the fighting against ethnic Armenians.

stable region where the vital interests of Russia, Turkey and Iran collide.

They view it as a winning stroke in the "Great Game" between Russia and the West, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, to control of the rich resources of the Caspian Sea.

But a vast influx of capital could bolster dictatorship in Azerbaijan and fuel a new round in the war over the tiny, largely Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The West should beware. Azerbaijan is no young democracy. Its political elite is animated by the lingering spirit of communism and the revived spirit of extremist nationalism. Genuine democratic forces remain on the margins of public life.

Human rights abuses have abounded. Civil liberties exist only on paper. Repeated waves of arrests have taken a heavy toll of Azerbaijan's political opposition. Both the Azerbaijani government and private militia hold ethnic Armenians hostage including women and children. Released hostages show signs of having been tortured.

Tens of thousands of young — many from Azeri-

cept Russia's conditions and hope to survive in Azerbaijan's staunchly Turkic-oriented political culture.

Mr. Aliyev is now gambling that an oil-addicted West will provide the material resources and political support he needs to reverse his country's defeat in Nagorno-Karabakh. The resources are on their way. Millions of dollars of oil money, including a \$300 million bonus for the government, are to start pouring into Azerbaijan's empty coffers by year's end.

President Aliyev has also exploited America's lingering, Cold War fears about Russian expansionism to gain political backing beyond the narrow bounds of oil interests.

The oil deal can contribute to the peaceful development of Transcaucasia. But the United States and its allies must not encourage plans for another Azerbaijan offensive.

The West needs to couple the oil agreement with two conditions for the improvement of relations with Azerbaijan: visible progress in the establishment of democratic government, and an end to Turkey's

and Azerbaijan's economically crippling blockades of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

President Bill Clinton should also appoint a special envoy with political weight to do two things: assist negotiators from Russia and the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe to establish a credible peacekeeping force in the war zone; and promote respect for the basic human rights of all the citizens of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh. Once these conditions are met, the international community will be right to expect the Karabakhi leadership to honor its pledge to withdraw its forces from the buffer zone in Azerbaijan proper, with the exception of its vital lifeline corridor to Armenia.



By CHAPPAITTE in LA TROUSSE de GENEVE. C&W Syndicate.

Families in Crisis? It's Relative

By Ellen Goodman

BOSTON — I am up to my elbows in Thanksgiving preparations when the phone rings. There are macadamia nuts to the right of me, pecans to the left. Flour and eggs are wrestling in my mixing bowl.

I reach for the phone, cradling it between my ear and my shoulder and hear the voice of a television producer. She wants to know whether I might be available to comment on the decline and fall of the American family. A story for the season.

As I stand there, covered in batter, she rattles off the horrid list of stories that make her case. The South Carolina mother who drowned her children. The 19 toddlers found in a squalid Chicago apartment without food or clothes. The Pittsburgh couple who took off for two weeks without warning, abandoning three kids to teenage babysitters.

despair about "family values." The overwhelming majority of Americans agree — 96 percent in one poll — that other people are not living up to their commitments. Yet in the same poll only 18 percent believe they are irresponsible themselves.

Everywhere I go, when people

ment messages. But the Jenny Joneses and Montel Williamses, the Sally Jessy Raphaels and Geraldo Riversas present an unbroken stream of pathological families.

On any day, Americans can channel surf across an electronic byway of talk shows, from murderous mothers to husband-stealing sisters to proud mothers of teenager strippers. If Norman Rockwell's Thanksgiving family were on the air, grandpa would be a child molester, grandma an addict and the kids would bear sexually transmitted diseases. The abnormal is the norm.

I'm hardly a Pollyanna about family life. I know about the stress of the sandwich generation, trying to be all things to all bosses, parents, children, spouses. I know that every family has troubles. At some time or other, in some light or other, we all look dysfunctional. But the fact is that most of us are functioning. And loving.

Somewhere along the way we Americans have lost a sense of proportion. We have come to believe that I'm O.K., but you're not, and that thing called the American Family is most certainly not.

This Thanksgiving Day has always been more about family than food. It is the time when Americans travel through airports, highways, ZIP codes, in order to squeeze around the family table and discover how many adults can sit on a piano bench. Standing in homecooked proof of my holiday excess, I wonder if those of us who are connected by bonds of DNA, marriage, affection and above all else, commitment, can forget for a while that we're supposed to be falling apart.

What do we make of this duality? I wish the producer had asked me that. Some of it comes from the very struggle to do a good job. The harder most of us try, the angrier we are at those who don't and at the price society pays.

But we are also reeling from something akin to negative advertising about the American family. The horror stories that make the front page, because they are so extraordinary, have gradually begun to be accepted as ordinary.

The radio talk shows provide an endless stream of anti-gov-

ple talk about what they value, the topic is their family. The coin of the conversational exchange between friends and even strangers is the state of their parents, their children, their spouses.

In our daily lives, we work at and for family. At four o'clock in the morning, when we worry, it is about our family.

Today, we have higher demands on ourselves as the parents of growing children and longer demands as the children of aging parents. But every morsel of evidence of success — 8 of 10 high school juniors and seniors list their parents as the people they trust — comes lost in a survey of family woes.

What do we make of this duality? I wish the producer had asked me that. Some of it comes from the very struggle to do a good job. The harder most of us try, the angrier we are at those who don't and at the price society pays.

Folding in the last ingredients of my too-elaborate recipe, I wonder how many of us live with this duality. We are convinced that the great amorphous, generic American family is falling apart. At the same time we are occupied with family maintenance.

I hear a steady drumbeat of

MEANWHILE

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The Azerbaijan Question

HAVING IN EFFECT occupied the neighboring independent republic of Georgia, the Russians are now endeavoring to expand their influence to another former Soviet ally — Azerbaijan.

Moscow's goals in Azerbaijan include reintroducing troops, re-establishing military bases, controlling oil reserves and mining frontiers. Thus, the Gorbachev administration must decide what to do about the Soviet republic — whether to allow it to remain independent. It is, says Jack Maresca, former high-level negotiator for the region, a test case for U.S.-Russian relations.

Azerbaijan differs from the other ex-Soviet republics in two key ways. First, there are no Russian ground troops stationed there. Second, who Moscow can argue that in Georgia and other republics there is no one else to conduct peacekeeping operations, in Azerbaijan the basis for an international peacekeeping force exists.

It was created in response to the continuing strife with Armenia. Two years ago, the international "Minsk group" of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe reached an agreement to set monitors to the area. This year, the CSCE expanded this agreement to include an international peacekeeping force in the region.

Since the CSCE effort got under way, the Russians have consistently attempted to block its implementation ultimately offering a separate Russian or CIS "peacekeeping force. Understandably, the Azerbaijanis are adamantly opposed.

In June 1993 an election was held and the Azerbaijanis elect-

ed Abulfaz Elchibey president. A close ally of Turkey, he was distrusted by the Russians. Mr. Elchibey attempted to assert his independence from Moscow, and sought to complete a deal with Western oil companies.

Just as the president was getting close to initiating the oil agreement in London, he was overthrown. The coup reportedly was financed and supported by Moscow. A power struggle ensued during which a former KGB general and Communist Party boss, Gaidar Aliyev, emerged as president.

In September, Mr. Aliyev set off to visit the United States. On the day a dinner was being hosted to celebrate the signing of the oil agreement, Mr. Aliyev received news that two high-level officials in his government had been assassinated in Baku.

Those who see a Russian hand in these slayings claim they were meant as a warning both to the Azeri parliamentarians and to President Aliyev. When Mr. Aliyev returned to Baku, he discovered a coup in the making in one of Azerbaijan's largest cities, Ganja. There was also trouble in Baku.

There was no smoking gun, to be sure, but Moscow's complicity is impossible to doubt.

Russia is also trying to amend the ceiling on tanks, armored personnel carriers and short-range artillery that it agreed to when it signed the Conventional Forces Agreement. These changes would enable Moscow to deploy forces along Azerbaijan's northern frontier.

It is time to put a stop to Russian expansionism. The Clinton administration cannot ignore the Caucasus and turn its back on Azerbaijan.

— Lally Weymouth, commenting in The Washington Post.

Don't miss the upcoming Sponsoring Section on

LEBANON

in the November 22nd issue of the newspaper.

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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CAPITAL MARKETS ON MONDAY

Most Active International Bonds

The 250 most actively traded international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ending Nov. 18. Prices supplied by Telekurs.

Rak Name Cn Maturity Price Yield

Austrian Schilling

100 Austria 7% 10/15/94 99.300 7.800

225 Austria T-bills zero 10/22/95 97.575 7.200

Belgian Franc

145 Belgium 7% 04/29/99 97.500 7.100

140 Belgium zero 04/29/94 101.000 7.100

Canadian Dollar

210 Canada 6% 02/01/96 94.000 6.600

Danish Krone

6 Denmark 7% 12/15/94 88.300 7.920

16 Denmark 8% 07/15/95 101.500 8.300

25 Denmark 11% 11/15/94 101.700 8.800

24 Denmark 12% 11/15/94 101.700 8.800

73 Denmark 7% 02/10/95 100.500 9.670

83 Denmark 7% 11/15/95 102.200 8.800

89 Denmark 8% 07/15/95 102.000 8.800

93 Denmark 8% 07/15/95 102.000 8.800

110 Denmark zero 04/03/95 98.054 5.300

136 Denmark 6% 02/10/97 97.100 6.400

148 Denmark 8% 02/10/97 101.000 8.400

125 Denmark 9% 08/15/95 101.200 9.100

227 Denmark 9% 08/15/95 101.200 9.100

Deutsche Mark

1 Treuhand 7% 05/09/94 99.900 7.500

7 Germany 7% 11/11/94 100.000 7.400

3 Treuhand 6% 05/13/94 94.975 7.100

4 Germany 6% 07/15/94 93.200 6.600

9 Germany 6% 01/21/92 102.400 7.100

8 Treuhand 6% 07/01/91 97.400 6.500

9 Germany 6% 07/15/93 96.353 6.400

18 Treuhand 6% 11/12/93 95.552 6.400

12 Bundespost 7% 10/01/94 100.113 7.400

14 Treuhand 6% 07/28/93 96.467 6.200

18 Germany 6% 09/30/91 101.914 7.400

19 Germany 6% 03/26/94 102.100 8.300

21 Germany 6% 07/15/93 93.300 6.900

21 Germany 6% 07/15/93 93.300 6.900

24 Treuhand 6% 07/28/93 96.467 6.200

27 Germany 6% 03/26/94 102.100 8.300

28 Germany 6% 03/26/94 102.100 8.300

32 Germany 6% 01/20/98 99.425 4.400

34 Germany 6% 01/20/98 99.425 4.400

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79 Germany 6% 01/20/98 99.425 4.400

80 Germany 6% 01/20/98 99.425 4.400

81 Germany 6% 01/20/98 99.425 4.400

82 Germany 6% 01/20/98 99.425 4.400

Rak Name Cn Maturity Price Yield

Dutch Guilder

104 Germany 8% 07/20/95 102.100 8.600

107 Germany 6% 05/02/93 93.775 7.100

113 Germany 6% 06/14/96 95.033 6.500

114 Germany 6% 07/20/90 106.200 8.200

130 Germany 6% 06/20/94 106.200 8.200

140 IMB FRN 5% 11/10/97 95.800 5.200

144 Treuhand 7% 12/02/92 98.800 7.400

173 Britain 7% 18/28/97 101.000 7.200

176 Germany 7% 11/21/96 101.600 7.100

196 Germany 5% 08/28/97 98.000 5.200

197 Germany 7% 01/20/98 100.500 7.200

211 Germany zero 06/11/95 95.343 5.400

212 World Bank 7% 10/13/99 100.500 7.200

218 Germany 6% 02/20/97 100.100 6.400

220 Germany 6% 07/20/95 102.100 8.200

230 Bundesbank 6% 03/15/95 98.424 4.700

231 Austria 6% 01/10/94 82.000 7.300

236 World Bank 5% 11/10/93 85.500 6.400

Spanish Peseta

115 Spain 8.30 12/15/96 91.200 9.100

191 Spain 10% 11/30/96 97.300 10.300

205 Spain 11.50 08/20/96 100.100 11.300

227 Spain 10.50 08/20/96 100.100 11.300

238 Spain 0 05/30/94 81.500 9.200

Swedish Krona

228 Sweden 11 01/21/99 102.400 10.400

235 Sweden 18% 05/05/93 97.700 18.400

U.S. Dollar

13 R. Fleming call n.a. 10/31/95 110.000 —

19 Argentina FRN 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

20 Brazil FRN 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

30 Argentina par L 4% 02/21/93 46.382 9.100

34 Venezuela FRN 5% 12/10/97 45.354 12.100

43 Brazil FRN 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

54 Brazil E.L. FRN 6% 04/15/96 49.590 9.500

74 Mexico par B 6% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

82 Brazil L. FRN 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

85 Mexico O FRN 5% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

86 OCB 7% 11/15/99 67.520 7.800

91 Venezuela par YL 6% 02/21/93 46.382 9.100

91 Venezuela par YL 6% 02/21/93 46.382 9.100

96 Mexico par a 6% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

100 Mexico par a 6% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

102 Argentina FRN 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

103 Yokohama 7% 07/22/94 94.120 8.100

108 Brazil ZL FRN 6% 04/15/96 49.590 9.500

112 Venezuela FRN 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

118 Venezuela par B 6% 02/21/93 46.382 9.100

128 BNG 7% 08/23/99 96.300 7.700

129 Poland 3% 10/27/94 45.313 7.400

131 LCB FRN 5% 11/04/98 94.400 8.700

132 Brazil par YL 4% 04/15/96 49.590 9.500

133 Mexico B FRN 6% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

140 Italy FRN 6% 07/20/95 102.100 8.200

141 Sweden 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

149 Samoa FRN 6% 11/15/94 100.000 6.700

152 Korea Dev. Bk 6% 10/04/94 96.000 8.500

156 Philippines B 5% 12/01/97 62.511 9.100

157 Nigeria FRN 5% 11/15/99 39.500 10.100

161 Finland FRN 5% 07/17/97 97.500 5.800

165 EIB 6% 04/20/99 94.500 7.000

170 South Africa 7% 07/28/94 95.700 8.200

171 Argentina 10% 11/01/99 96.620 11.800

172 Argentina 10% 11/01/99 96.620 11.800

177 Mexico C FRN 6% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

177 Bulgaria A FRN 6% 07/20/94 46.400 9.100

180 Sweden 6% 11/07/94 95.192 9.300

181 Hemisphere FRN n.a. 11/16/01 101.167 —

184 Bulgaria FRN 6% 07/20/94 46.400 9.100

185 Hemisphere FRN n.a. 11/16/01 101.167 —

188 Tokyo 7% 10/13/94 95.700 8.200

188 Mexico A FRN 6% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

190 Sweden 6% 02/20/95 72.500 6.900

202 EIB FRN 4% 07/28/97 94.000 7.500

203 Thai Oil FRN 6% 11/14/01 100.000 6.700

206 Northwest FRN 6% 12/31/99 63.940 6.700

212 Bco Corn Ext. zero 01/15/95 97.200 8.600

214 Ontario 7% 06/22/94 94.200 8.000

215 Brazil L FRN 6% 04/15/96 49.590 9.500

219 Japan Dev. Bk 7% 10/25/99 97.000 7.900

223 Venezuela A 7% 03/31/07 46.714 14.900

227 Bco Corn Ext. 7% 02/03/94 91.700 8.600

240 Italy 6% 07/27/93 94.000 7.100

245 Canada 5% 07/07/97 97.120 6.900

247 Sweden FRN 5% 02/06/01 96.800 5.700

Hope for Bonds Rises as Curve Flattens

By Carl Gewirtz

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Analysts have said it before and been proved wrong. But now they're saying it again: Bond markets are headed for better times. The optimism stems from the sudden flattening of the yield curve in the major markets.

The normal slope of the yield curve is upward, from lower rates on short-term securities to higher rates on long-term ones. But last week, when the U.S. Federal Reserve Board raised the cost of overnight money by three-quarters of a percentage point, or 75 basis points, to 5 1/4 percent, the impact along the maturity span was very unequal. Rates on two-year money rose 16 basis points, at 10 years the increase was only three basis points, and at 30 years rates actually dropped two basis points.

With short-term rates rising faster than long-term ones, that meant the yield curve had flattened. Last week, the spread between the cost of two-year and 30-year money was around a two-month low of 90 basis points — down from 129 basis points a month ago.

"The flattening of the yield curve is a sign of confidence that the Fed is doing what needs to be done to keep inflation tamed," said Andreas Drobny at CS First Boston in London.

"The credibility of the Fed influences the slope of the curve," he said. "The actual level of rates is determined by the pace of economic activity."

Meanwhile, the spread between two-year and 10-year bonds in Germany, at 130 basis points, is down from its peak of just over 140 basis points, and the rates quoted in the forward market show that the spread is expected to narrow a further 45 basis points in six months and by 80 basis points in 12 months. Given that short-term rates are expected to increase over that time span, the narrowing means the burden of the increase will be felt only on short-term rates.

"The steepening of the DM yield curve has ended," says Christopher Potts at Banque Indosuez. "The trend now is a gradual corrective flattening. It tells us that European recovery has now been fully priced into rates

LEIPZIG NOTEBOOK

As Construction Booms, Its History Still Looms

By Brandon Mitchener
International Herald Tribune

LEIPZIG KOMMT! The message that Leipzig is up and coming blares from billboards all over town and in print advertisements around the world. Its construction boom makes it the fastest-growing city in Germany.

But mostly what is booming, besides crime, is commercial construction, much of which, in turn, is focused on the city's periphery.

Leipzig is saddled with Eastern Germany's highest concentration of prewar buildings and renovation claims, a mix that makes building and renovating the city's crumbling residential properties a slow, costly process.

"Leipzig needs to spend about 18 billion Deutsche marks (\$12 billion) to bring its architectural heritage up to Western German standards," said Holger Tschense, the city official in charge of housing policy.

Fifty percent of the city's buildings were built before World War II, and half of all construction and renovation applications are subject to a time-consuming study of ownership claims.

Despite a number of city policies intended to speed residential construction, "it will be another 10 years before all the claims are settled," Mr. Tschense said. "I don't want to predict how many of these buildings will still be standing in 10 years."

About 25,000 of the city's 285,000 apartments are already considered uninhabitable and stand empty.

So much retail and office space will come on the local real estate market in the coming years that many locals fear the current boom will be followed by a big bust. Many also worry they will soon cease to be locals as apartment rents soar.

While an influx of more than 80 banks over the past four years has made Leipzig Germany's second biggest financial center, Michael Schimanski, director of the city's economic development office, is desperately searching for smokestacks.

Once a hub of heavy industry, Leipzig has seen the number of city manufacturing jobs shrink to fewer than 15,000 from 100,000 in 1989. The city's eventual goal is 50,000 manufacturing jobs, the minimum represented in similar West German service-oriented cities such as Frankfurt.

The city is resting its hopes on light, modern industries such as printing, telecommunications and medical and environmental technology.

But with manufacturing employment still falling, "it'll be a long time before we get self-sustaining growth," Mr. Schimanski said.

Going for Broke?

Peter Kaminski, Leipzig's treasurer, is distracted by another small problem involving the city's bonds. The problem isn't the 10-year, 6.25 percent bonds issued in 1993, but the city's 21-year, 7 percent Sinking Fund Gold Bond External.

See NOTEBOOK, Page 11

Angst in the Upper Ranks Job Insecurity Takes a Mounting Toll

By Louis Uchitelle
New York Times Service

NEW YORK When Karl Marx described an increasingly miserable and exploited working class, he never imagined that his oppressed workers might someday include Ivy League graduates being tossed out of \$200,000-a-year jobs in business.

But a changing economy is gradually linking highly educated managers and technicians with assembly-line workers and office clerks. The link is their common place in an increasingly competitive economy that no longer values workers as much as it once did. What they share, public opinion polls show, are feelings of uncertainty, insecurity and anxiety about their jobs and their incomes.

A class consciousness may be emerging from this shared anxiety — an awareness among millions of Americans that they occupy the same uneasy boat, even if they are doing well in high-paying jobs.

Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich, giving the phenomenon a name, describes "the anxious class" as "consisting of millions of Americans who no longer can count on having their jobs next year, or next month, and whose wages have stagnated or lost ground to inflation."

But the growing sense that people of different levels of wealth, education and skill may be victims of the same economic forces lacks two crucial elements of class consciousness as the term has historically been used: a class vocabulary and a class enemy.

The traditional adversaries — big business, owners of capital, managers — are no longer viewed that way.

Instead, business is seen as also a victim, caught in a global competition that forces cost-cutting and layoffs. That sort of thinking showed up in focus group sessions and follow-up interviews with 2,400 workers of all income levels for a soon-to-be released study directed by Richard Freeman, a Harvard labor economist, and Joel Rogers, a professor of law and sociology at the University of Wisconsin.

"They tell us, 'My boss is trying hard, but there is nothing he can do, either,'" Mr. Rogers said. "That does not mean they don't see their employer as often unfair and cruel. But then they say he does not have the ability to protect them, which is much different than saying, 'He could protect me if he wanted to but he chooses not to.'"

It is this forlorn attitude toward management that distinguishes today's unhappy

workers from their forebears. If the boss were the target, it would be easier to know what to do: People might take action in groups.

But public opinion polls show that while Americans are increasingly angry about their economic insecurity, neither business nor the forces that make companies so hard on workers are the targets of this anger. It is directed instead at government, immigrants and the poor, among others.

The 1994 electoral uprising suggested that if there is a class enemy it is an ill-defined political class, a combination of government and media that are seen as imposing their social and cultural views on an alienated populace.

But this modern populism, unlike the 19th-century movement that provided the name, sidesteps the main source of discontent: the economic changes that define America's new anxious class.

"You would think that in a free enterprise system, there would be more criticism of its warts," said Florence Skelly, vice chairman of DYG Inc., a polling company founded by Daniel Yankelovich. "Instead, we say that government should be run more like a business. And we deal with the boss by ousting the congressman."

The anxiety, uncertainty and insecurity that characterize the new class consciousness show up in different ways in public opinion polls. Although the economy is growing briskly and unemployment is down, only 31 percent of those surveyed this month by Louis Harris & Associates see this improvement.

"Over and over, people tell us they are concerned about their jobs, that they don't feel secure, that the economy is doing badly," Humphrey Taylor, Harris's chairman, said. "For most people, if the economy is not synonymous with jobs, it is at least highly coordinated with jobs."

Mr. Reich, who has argued that education and training provide the best job security, contends that most members of the anxious class have only high school educations. But he, too, now acknowledges that education is less and less of a buffer against the joblessness.

A variety of new statistics shows that the incomes of college-educated people have been falling in recent years to keep pace with inflation. Men in their early 50s with four years of college, for example, have been stuck for 10 years at the same income, adjusted for inflation, according to the findings of Frank Levy, a labor economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

EU, Talking Softly, Gains Little in Tokyo Talks

By Steven Brull
International Herald Tribune

TOKYO — Japan politely rebuffed Europe's major trade demands over the weekend but offered a series of smaller concessions that Europe's trade representative said had vindicated the European Union's nonconfrontational approach to the world's second biggest economy.

The EU's trade commissioner, Sir Leon Brittan, stressed, however, that a final judgment on Europe's "persistent but diplomatic" approach, which officials contrasted with the strong-arm tactics used by the United States, would have to await concrete results of increased sales of European products to Japan.

"My mood on emerging from these meetings is one of satisfaction but not euphoria," Sir Leon said Saturday night after talks with the Japanese ministers of foreign affairs, finance and trade. "We have made good progress in some areas, but we still have a long way to go."

Europe's primary goal for the ministerial meetings, the first since January 1993, was to ensure that last month's framework accord between Japan and the United States would not discriminate against European companies.

That accord, which followed 15 months of arduous negotiations, aimed to improve foreign access to Japan's public markets for medical and telecommunications equipment, as well as private-sector markets for insurance and flat glass. It also established a bilateral dialogue to allow the United States to monitor progress in market share for foreign goods.

Europe, fearing that the Japanese government and private corporations would bias their purchasing decisions in favor of American suppliers, sought to join the monitoring process. But Tokyo agreed only to set up "a system of parallel monitoring" whose details have yet to be determined.

"I don't think it's a disadvantage that it's done separately if we get the same figures and the same facts and the same opportunity to talk," Sir Leon said. "We will do our own monitoring."

The real test will be in the coming period if we see some major purchases of European products," he said, mentioning Airbus planes and Rolls-Royce jet engines.

Japan delivered a less indirect "no" to the EU's request that Tokyo agree to cut its current account surplus to 2.0 percent of gross domestic product for the year ending in March 1996, compared with the current 3.1 percent and Tokyo's forecast of 2.7 percent for next year.

Sir Leon, stressing that Europe did not advocate managed trade, said the figure was "not a commitment or a target but an expectation or an analysis of what might come" from policy changes and other structural measures.

Finance Minister Masayoshi Takemura responded only that "it was a reasonable expectation to move in the direction of that figure."

The EU did reach a series of smaller agreements that should make it easier for European producers of electronics, food, textiles, medical devices and linen to penetrate the Japanese market. These included changes in food labeling regulations and steps toward eased certification requirements.

But Japan rejected Europe's demand to reduce its import duties on European spirits, which are nearly four times as high as those for *shochu*, or low-grade Japanese spirits, in violation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Japan has progressively lowered the differential since 1989, when it was 15.5 times.

Sir Leon said the small but concrete results were typical of what could be achieved with the EU's nonconfrontational approach. "We are talking about cracking away, eliminating obstacle after obstacle, rather than dramatic breakthroughs," he said.

A gradualist approach, however, was long ago rejected by the United States as too slow given Tokyo's towering trade surpluses. In private, some EU officials agree, saying they would prefer to adopt a harder line. That, however, would require cooperation with the United States, something that is anathema to European leaders whose bid for a common stance toward Japan was rebuffed by Washington in the early 1980s.

Saturday's agreements, moreover, are unlikely to make a big dent in Japan's surplus with the EU, which totaled \$18.56 billion in the first 10 months of 1994. The figure is 19.5 percent less than during the same period one year ago, chiefly due to a 14.1 percent jump in imports into Japan owing to the strong yen, Japanese figures show.

For Tokyo's part, Foreign Minister Yohei Kono urged the EU to join the consortium that will build two light-water nuclear reactors in North Korea that do not produce weapons-grade plutonium. But Sir Leon was noncommittal.

"I explained that no decision of any kind had been made," he said, "and I took note of their request."

Tom Buerkle in Brussels contributed to this article.

Saudis Grant Concession on Debt As Russian Official Opens Gulf Trip

Reuters

RIYADH — Saudi Arabia and Russia on Sunday signed agreements on easing Moscow's debt burden, improving relations and strengthening trade ties during the first trip to the kingdom by a senior Russian official.

The pact was signed during a two-day visit to Saudi Arabia by Prime Minister Viktor S. Chernomyrdin, who held talks with King Fahd, Saudi officials and businessmen from the world's highest oil-producing nation.

Russia's Interfax news agency reported that Saudi Arabia had agreed to reschedule Russia's \$250 million debt to the kingdom.

The agency quoted Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Davydov as saying in Riyadh that the agreement would mean Moscow could defer until 1996 repayment of the first \$100 million.

Interfax said the debt was part of a \$750 million Saudi credit made to the former Soviet Union in 1991.

Saudi Arabia and Russia only established full diplomatic relations after the 1990-91 Gulf War. The agreement signed Sunday opens the door for

more specific deals on trade, economics, culture, technology and sports, Russian officials said.

They said they also hoped for closer political ties.

Diplomats in the region said Mr. Chernomyrdin was eager to reassure wealthy Gulf Arabs suspicious of Moscow's ties with Baghdad that Russia would not develop them at the expense of relations with the Gulf states.

Moscow has been leading a campaign in the UN Security Council to ease sanctions on Baghdad, especially since Iraq's recognition of Kuwait this month.

"We hope this trip will open opportunities for signing concrete agreements," a spokesman for Mr. Chernomyrdin said. It was the highest-level Russian delegation to visit the kingdom.

Trade between Russia and Saudi Arabia is currently only about \$30 million a year, mostly made up of Russian exports, including timber and cars, to Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Chernomyrdin went on to Kuwait on Sunday and will later visit Oman and the United Arab Emirates.

OPEC Ministers Will Try To Keep Oil Output Frozen

Reuters

DENPASAR, Indonesia — Cash-strapped OPEC producers, who are meeting here Monday, appeared ready on Sunday to freeze oil production for up to one year to try to push up sagging world oil prices.

Oil Minister Gholamreza Azadeh of Iran said he would accept any solution that would support world oil prices, which he said were too low.

The price for the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' basket of crudes averaged \$16.97 a barrel in the week ended Nov. 11, compared with its target of \$21. In inflation-adjusted terms, the price was not much higher than it was before the 1973 Arab oil embargo.

Saudi Arabia, the world's biggest oil producer, also set the tone for Monday's opening ses-

sion by calling on the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to freeze oil output through all of next year.

OPEC has kept its output ceiling at 24.52 million barrels a day since September 1993. Analysts had been expecting OPEC to hold the ceiling there for a further six months because the 12-member group is banking on rising world demand to lift oil prices.

World oil demand is forecast to grow at a strong pace, fueled mainly by booming economies in Asia. Demand will surge 1.3 million barrels per day in 1995, to 69.4 million barrels, according to analysts at Kleinwort Benson.

But rising production from non-OPEC countries will grab a large share of the new demand, leaving OPEC with little room to increase sales, they said.

An OPEC production freeze should leave world markets broadly in balance next year, analysts said.

But other factors might prevent prices from moving higher, they said.

OPEC's first hurdle will be the northern winter. Normal or severe cold could drain the world's stockpiles and prevent a big price slump in spring, when demand is low. Mild weather could leave markets glutted, leaving prices weak for at least the first half of the year.

OPEC would also have to curb quota cheating, which has undermined many of its past production deals.

Another wild card is Iraq, which has been barred from exporting oil since it invaded Kuwait in mid-1990.

SHORT COVER

Kemper and Conesco Call Off Talks

CHICAGO (AP) — Kemper Corp. and Conesco Inc. announced Sunday they had called off their proposed merger, less than three weeks after Conesco lowered its original \$3.25 billion bid to \$290 million.

Conesco, an insurer based in Carmel, Indiana, in June offered \$67 a share for Kemper, of Long Grove, Illinois, which has interests in insurance and financial services.

Kemper accepted the offer. But on Nov. 1, Conesco, saying rising interest rates were making financing more expensive, cut its offer to \$2.96 billion, or \$60 a share.

Reliance Shifts to Rockwell Offer

SEAL BEACH, California — Shareholders of Reliance Electric Co., in a move that could signal the end of the company's merger agreement with General Signal Corp., tendered almost two-thirds of Reliance's stock to a rival suitor, Rockwell International Corp., Rockwell said Sunday.

Rockwell International made a \$1.5 billion cash offer last month for the Cleveland-based electrical equipment maker, topping General Signal's \$1.34 billion stock-swap agreement.

Last week, the three companies signed an agreement that gave Reliance until noon Monday to decide if it would combine with Rockwell. If the agreement is reached but Rockwell does not buy the Reliance shares by April 1, General Signal and Reliance will resume their merger talks.

U.K. Rail Plan in Works, Paper Says

LONDON (APF) — Long-awaited plans for a multibillion-pound privatization of Railtrack, the body which runs Britain's rail system, are due to be unveiled this week, according to The Times newspaper.

Transport Secretary Brian Mawhinney will announce the sell-off in Parliament, the paper said.

The move, which could be worth as much as \$6.5 billion (\$10 billion), would allow Prime Minister John Major to face down criticism from Tory right-wingers that the government's new legislative program lacked a radical cutting edge. A Department of Transport spokesman described the newspaper report as speculation but conceded that privatization of Railtrack was a priority for the government.

Commodities

Keep Third World Afloat

Reuters

LONDON — Many Third World countries are riding high on the back of soaring commodity prices, and economists see no reason for this to change even though major industrialized nations are squeezing credit lines.

"I would expect the benefits of higher commodity prices to more than offset the damaging effects of higher interest rates," said Peter West, an economic adviser at West Merchant Bank.

Commodity prices have soared in 1994, responding to an expanding global economy and providing desperately needed foreign exchange earnings for many developing countries.

But Western central banks have moved to cool overheating economies by raising interest rates, a move that could threaten Third World earnings.

The coffee price has quadrupled, aluminum prices have surged 90 percent, copper has jumped 77 percent, and nickel has gained 95 percent.

Economists said the biggest beneficiaries are in Latin America — economies once almost crippled by a debt crisis but now on a more stable footing.

The surge in commodity earnings will help to narrow sharply Latin America's trade deficits, analysts said.

OMEGA

THE LINK BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

Omega Speedmaster Automatic.
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Ω
OMEGA
The sign of excellence

THE TRIB INDEX

International Herald Tribune
World Stock Index, composed
of 280 internationally investable
stocks from 25 countries,
compiled by Bloomberg
Business News.

Week ending November 18,
daily closings,
Jan. 1992 = 100.

World Index

119.75
Down 0.5%

Asia/Pacific

124.93
Down 0.5%

Europe

115.72
Down 0.2%

North America

98.31
Down 0.1%

Latin America

137.31
Down 0.1%

Industrial Sectors/Weekend close

	11/18/94 close	11/17/94 close	% change
Energy	112.86	118.87	-4.95
Utilities	126.56	128.97	-1.87
Finance	112.53	116.13	-3.10
Services	116.04	119.42	-2.83

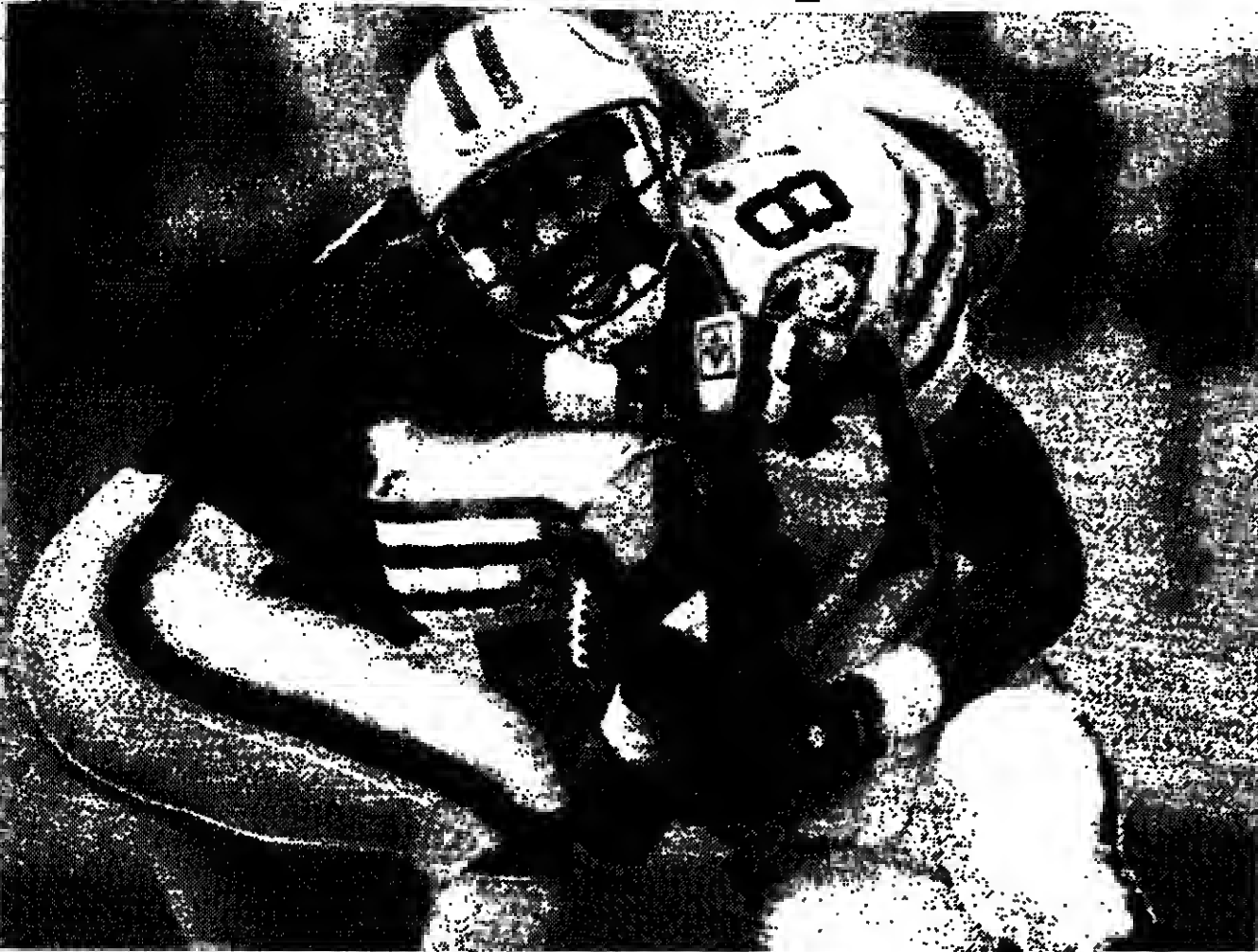
	11/18/94 close	11/17/94 close	% change
Capital Goods	114.82	118.79	-3.34
Raw Materials	131.71	138.97	-5.22
Consumer Goods	105.08	105.43	-0.33
Miscellaneous	121.85	125.48	-2.89

The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in: Tokyo, New York, London, and Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Venezuela. For Tokyo, New York and London, the index is composed of the 20 top issues in terms of market capitalization, otherwise the ten top stocks are tracked.

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MONDAY SPORTS

Steelers Overcome Dolphins, 16-13, on Kick by Anderson in Overtime



After a reception, Green Bay's Robert Brooks was stopped by Mickey Washington of the Bills on Sunday in Buffalo.

The Associated Press
Gary Anderson's 39-yard field goal with 4:41 left in overtime clinched the victory, after Mike Tomczak had awakened the Steelers' slumping offense with 343 passing yards in his first start in 27 games as the Steelers beat Miami, 16-13, on Sunday in Pittsburgh.

The overtime was the Steelers' third in four games. The Steelers (8-3) have won six of their last seven, two in OT.

Barry Foster ended Pittsburgh's streak of 13 consecutive quarters without an offensive touchdown with a go-ahead 10-yard run midway through the fourth quarter following Tomczak's 40-yard completion to Eric Miller. Tomczak was 26-for-42 for 343 yards and wasn't intercepted.

But the Steelers' 13-10 lead didn't hold up. Dan Marino, a master of the late-game comeback, did it again by driving the Dolphins (7-4) from their 3 to Pete Stoyanovich's game-tying 48-yard field goal on the final play of regulation.

Pittsburgh won the toss in overtime, but Foster, who had 88 yards on 31 carries playing full-time for the first time in six weeks, was stopped on fourth-and-1 at the Dolphins' 39.

Marino, who was 31-for-45 for 312 yards, couldn't turn the potentially pivotal play into any points, and Miami punted. Tomczak, replacing the injured Neil O'Donnell in his first start since an aborted one-half outing in the Steelers' season-opening loss to San Francisco, then hit Foster for 27 yards and fullback John L. Williams for 23. That set up the fifth game-winner of Anderson's career.

Chiefs 20, Browns 13: The undermanned Chiefs tightened two AFC races with their victory over Cleveland in Kansas City, Missouri.

Kimble Anders's 1-yard plunge capped a 69-yard fourth-quarter drive and lifted Kansas City past Cleveland and within a game of first place in the AFC West. The Browns (8-3) plunged into a tie with Pittsburgh in the AFC Central.

The Browns were driving in the final minute when Derrick Thomas sacked Mark Rypien and stripped the ball. The ball was recovered by Pelton McDaniels on the Chiefs' 48 and Kansas City ran out the clock.

The Chiefs (7-4) were missing seven starters, including their best running back (Marcus Allen), offensive lineman (John Ahl), wide receiver (Wilbur Davis), defensive lineman (Neil Smith) and defensive back (Mark Collins).

The Browns scored their first touchdown in Arrowhead Stadium in four games and took a 13-10 lead late in the third period.

on Rypien's 15-yard pass to Michael Jackson.

Lin Elliott's 28-yard field goal tied it at 13 just 53 seconds into the fourth period. Then, with rookie running backs Donnell Bennett and Greg Hill supplying most of the muscle on a rainy day when quarterbacks had trouble gripping the ball, the Chiefs swept 69 yards in nine plays.

Patriots 23, Chargers 17: Marion Butts trampled his former San Diego teammates in his best game of a disappointing season as New England upset its second straight division leader.

Butts, the second leading rusher in Chargers history, ran for a season-high 88 yards and one touchdown on 28 carries against the NFL's third-best run defense Foxboro, Massachusetts. Butts was obtained in a draft-day trade to add power and consistency to the New England attack.

The Chargers cut the lead to 23-17 with 55 seconds left on Stan Humphries' 2-yard pass to Tony Martin, ending a 92-yard drive. But New England's Kevin Turner fell on John Carney's inside kick.

The Patriots (5-6) won their second straight game in a four-game stretch against division leaders. They beat Minnesota last Sunday.

The Chargers (8-3) are 2-3 since opening with six victories. They still lead the AFC West.

Cowboys 31, Redskins 7: Quarterback Troy Aikman, playing with a sore passing thumb and a broken nose, went down with a sprained knee in the victory over Washington in Irving, Texas. His questionable status puts a severe strain on a team trying to win a record third consecutive Super Bowl.

If Aikman's injury wasn't bad enough, backup Rodney Peete sprained the thumb on his passing hand and was replaced by third-stringer Jason Garrett.

Peete responded with a touchdown pass and Emmitt Smith ran for two TDs as Dallas (9-2), smarting from a 21-14 loss to San Francisco last week, notched its 13th consecutive NFC East victory. Smith rushed for 85 yards and went over 1,000 for the fourth consecutive season. He has 1,074.

Aikman was hurt in the second quarter when he was tackled around the knees by linebacker Ken Harvey.

After the injury, Peete threw a 15-yard touchdown pass to Alvin Harper to give Dallas a 24-7 halftime lead. Kevin Williams then dashed 83 yards on a punt return for a TD as Washington's record dipped to 2-9.

Peete jammed his thumb in the third period when he was hit by defensive end Dexter Nottage. Peete could barely grip the ball after the injury, but X-rays of the thumb were negative.

Bears 20, Lions 10: The Bears took control of the clock and wouldn't let it go, holding more than a 28-minute advantage in time of possession to beat Barry Sanders and Detroit in Chicago for their third straight victory.

The Bears, using short passes and the running of Lewis Tillman, ran twice as many plays—76-36—and had the ball for 44 minutes and 12 seconds to 15:48 for the Lions.

Sanders, coming off a career-best, 237-yard effort against Tampa Bay last week, was held

to 42 yards on just 11 carries, his second-lowest output of the season. The Vikings had limited him to 16 yards on 12 carries in the second week of the season.

Steve Walsh, now 6-0 as a starter, led three time-consuming scoring drives and threw a 30-yard TD pass to Jeff Graham with 12:50 left as the Bears (7-4) matched their victory total of last season. Detroit fell to 5-6.

With the game tied at 10 at the half, the Bears used 11:54 of the third quarter on a 20-play, 71-yard drive that stalled at the Lions' 6. Kevin Butler then kicked a 23-yard field goal for a 13-10 lead.

Chicago used some trickery for the second straight game as John Mangum fell on Chris Gaskie's inside kick at the Chicago 42. Six plays later, Walsh hit Graham behind the secondary to put the Bears up 20-10.

Bills 29, Packers 20: In Orchard Park, New York, Jim Kelly and Andre Reed connected for two touchdowns and 191 yards to beat Green Bay and revive the Bills' playoff hopes.

Buffalo (6-5) snapped a two-game losing streak and sent the Packers (6-5) to their first loss in four games.

Reed had a team record 15 catches and a career best in yardage. Kelly's total of 365 yards was his best in 24 years and the fourth-best of his career.

Kelly hit Reed for 15- and 10-yard touchdowns in the first half as the Bills moved out to a 24-0 lead. Brett Favre and Sterling Sharpe connected for two touchdowns and Edgar Bennett caught another as Green Bay made it 27-20, but the Packers failed in three attempts to close the gap further.

Colts 17, Bengals 13: Don Majkowski, playing with a torn ligament in the thumb of his passing hand, threw an 8-yard TD pass to Sean Dawkins with 1:54 left to give Indianapolis the victory in Cincinnati.

The Colts (5-6) took away Jeff Blake's deep passing and Ray Buchanan intercepted him in the end zone with 45 seconds left to seal their fifth victory at Riverfront in six years.

Blake, playing on a bruised left ankle, was 21-of-37 for 207 yards, by far his least-productive game in four starts for the Bengals (2-9). But it had appeared he would keep their momentum rolling when he led them on a nearly nine-minute drive in the third quarter that culminated with a 15-yard touchdown pass to Danny Scott and a 13-7 lead.

Dean Biasucci kicked a 35-yard field goal with 6:31 left, and the Colts sacked Blake and forced a punt. Majkowski, who injured the thumb two weeks ago, came back on and threw his best passes of the game.

He completed three straight, including a 24-yarder to Dawkins, to get into scoring range, then read the Bengals' coverage correctly for the winning play. Dawkins ran a quick slant in front of Mike Brann, slid to his left knee as he caught Majkowski's tight spiral, then got up and stepped into the end zone.

The Bengals had one more chance behind Blake, who hit passes of 19 and 13 yards to lead them from their 31 to the Colts' 37. He then went to the pass that has made his reputation—the long lob to Scott. But it was underthrown and Buchanan jumped in front of Scott for his third interception.

Alabama Stays Perfect, Ending Auburn Streak

The Associated Press
Jay Barker looks down the road and realizes it could be a straight run to his dream.

Alabama, getting two long touchdown passes from Barker, won a battle of unbeaten and kept alive its hopes for a national title with a 21-14 victory Saturday over Auburn in Birmingham, Alabama.

"I feel like we've got a chance," said Barker, now 34-1-1 as a starter. "We've just got to keep winning games. We've been talking about it ever since September. That's our goal."

Sherman Williams ran for 164 yards and a score, and No. 4 Alabama withstood a furious rally by sixth-ranked Auburn in a battle of rivals.

With two more victories, Alabama could win the national title.

Alabama plays No. 3 Florida in the Southeastern Conference championship game Dec. 3, with the winner going to the Sugar Bowl and the loser to the Citrus.

"We're going to have to forget about Auburn," said Williams, who had a 13-yard first-quarter TD run among his 27 carries. "We're going to have to prepare for Florida just a little harder than we prepared for Auburn."

The loss ended Auburn's 21-game unbeaten streak and was the first for Terry Bowden since his two seasons as coach.

Auburn, which trailed 21-0 at halftime, got back in the game on a pair of 1-yard sneaks by quarterback Patrick Nix. But a final drive ended when Frank Sanders was stopped inches short on a fourth-down reception with 31 seconds left.

It was the last game of the season for Auburn, which can't go to a bowl because of

National Collegiate Athletic Association probation.

Meanwhile, No. 12 Oregon earned its first trip to the Rose Bowl in 37 years. The Pac-10 champion Ducks will play No. 2 Penn State, the Big Ten champ, on New Year's Day.

The Ducks were one of several teams that won bowl-game berths after play Saturday. Others were Kansas State in the Aloha Bowl, Oklahoma in the Copper Bowl, Wisconsin in the Hall of Fame, Illinois and East Carolina in the Liberty, Colorado Cyclones.

Rashaun Salaam ran for 259 yards and two touchdowns, pushing his total to 2,055 yards. Salaam, the nation's leading rusher and scorer, became the fourth player in NCAA Division I-A history to run for 2,000 yards in a season.

McCartney, who produced a national championship in 1990, plans to make whatever bowl Colorado visits his final game. The winningest coach in Colorado history with a 92-55-5 record, he guided the Buffaloes to a 10-1 record this season, with a lone loss to No. 1 Nebraska.

No. 8 Florida State 34, No. 25 N. Carolina State 3: In Raleigh, North Carolina, Florida State used two touchdowns by Rock Preston to better its lifetime Atlantic Coast Conference mark to 24-0.

Danny Kanell threw two touchdown passes for the Seminoles. Injuries took a heavy toll, however, with at least nine Florida State players forced out of the game—including two with torn knee ligaments and another with a broken leg. Four are out for the rest of the season.

No. 9 Texas A&M 34, Texas Christian 17: In College Station, Texas, Leeland McElroy scored two TDs and Texas A&M beat Texas Christian for the 22d straight time. A fumble recovery by Michael Hendricks and an interception by Ray Mickens halted drives by TCU. Texas A&M is on NCAA probation and ineligible for postseason play.

No. 11 Kansas State 23, Oklahoma State 6: In a driving rain in Manhattan, Kansas, Leon Edwards scored two touchdowns for Kansas State, which finished at 8-2 for its best Big Eight record in 24 years. The Cowboys failed to win in the conference for the second straight year.

No. 12 Oregon 17, Oregon State 13: In Corvallis, Oregon, Danny O'Neil threw his second touchdown pass to Dino Phillips on a screen play with 3:43 to play, sending Oregon to the Rose Bowl for the first time since the 1957 season.

With its sixth straight victory, Oregon won the conference title outright for the first time. The Ducks won nine games in a season for the first time since 1948.

UCLA 31, No. 13 Southern Cal 19: In Pasadena, California, Wayne Cook ran for one touchdown and threw for two in the second half as the Bruins rallied to beat the Trojans for the fourth straight time. The Bruins had not previously won four in a row in the 64-game series.

Rob Johnson, who completed his last 15 passes for USC against Arizona on Nov. 12, hit his first eight Saturday to set an NCAA record with 23. The previous mark of 22 was shared by

Brigham Young's Steve Young and Iowa's Chuck Long.

No. 16 Virginia Tech 23, Virginia Tech 23: Virginia's Rafael Garcia set a school record with five field goals. The Cavaliers had five interceptions and recovered three of four fumbles by Tech. Garcia hit from 28, 43, 37, 50 and 22 yards as Virginia snapped the Hokies' 11-game home winning streak.

Washington State 23, No. 18 Washington 6: In Pullman, Washington, Derek Sparks scored two touchdowns, and Kevin Hicks ran for one as Washington State won at icy Martin Stadium.

Washington State finished fourth in the conference and waited to hear if it would be invited by the bowl coalition to either the Freedom or Alamo Bowl. Washington is on probation and ineligible for postseason play.

McNair, who completed 29 of 54 passes, threw for three touchdowns and Cheronne Harness ran for two in the first half as Alcorn built a 35-28 lead.

McNair, who has 16,823 career total yards, ended the regular season 303-of-524 passing for 4,899 yards with 44 TDs and 17 interceptions. He also had 936 yards rushing and nine TDs.

big day by the quarterback John Walsh, who was 29-of-46 for 324 yards and four touchdowns.

North Carolina 41, No. 24 Duke 40: Mike Thomas combined with Octavius Barnes on a 71-yard scoring play with 2:01 left as North Carolina stunned Duke in Durham, North Carolina. The loss was devastating for the Blue Devils, who seemed to have the game won after Spencer Fischer—33 of 57 for 395 yards—hit Corey Thomas with two scoring passes in a 4½-minute span late in the fourth quarter.

No. 21 Utah 34, No. 20 BYU 31: In Salt Lake City, Mike McCoy threw for four touchdowns, including a 20-yarder to Charlie Brown with 56 seconds left.

Utah lost a shot at the Holiday Bowl when Colorado State won. The loss by BYU ruined a

bation and ineligible for postseason play.

No. 10 Colorado State 44, Fresno State 42: In Fresno, California, E. J. Watson ran for three touchdowns as Colorado State, down by 21 points early, clinched the Western Athletic Conference title and a Holiday Bowl berth.

Watson, questionable for the game because of a sprained ankle, ran 2, 24 and 22 yards for touchdowns for the Rams, who won their first title since joining the WAC in 1968.

No. 11 Kansas State 23, Oklahoma State 6: In a driving rain in Manhattan, Kansas, Leon Edwards scored two touchdowns for Kansas State, which finished at 8-2 for its best Big Eight record in 24 years. The Cowboys failed to win in the conference for the second straight year.

No. 12 Oregon 17, Oregon State 13: In Corvallis, Oregon, Danny O'Neil threw his second touchdown pass to Dino Phillips on a screen play with 3:43 to play, sending Oregon to the Rose Bowl for the first time since the 1957 season.

With its sixth straight victory, Oregon won the conference title outright for the first time. The Ducks won nine games in a season for the first time since 1948.

UCLA 31, No. 13 Southern Cal 19: In Pasadena, California, Wayne Cook ran for one touchdown and threw for two in the second half as the Bruins rallied to beat the Trojans for the fourth straight time. The Bruins had not previously won four in a row in the 64-game series.

Rob Johnson, who completed his last 15 passes for USC against Arizona on Nov. 12, hit his first eight Saturday to set an NCAA record with 23. The previous mark of 22 was shared by

Brigham Young's Steve Young and Iowa's Chuck Long.

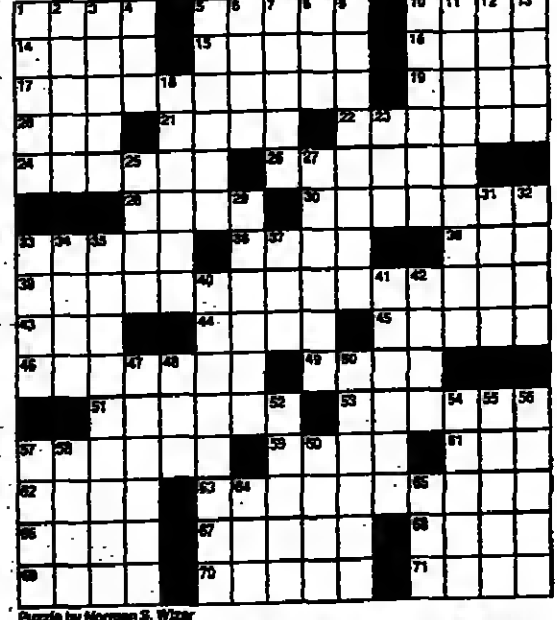
CROSSWORD

ACROSS
1 — Haters.
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6 Clearheaded

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16 Turn obliquely
17 SCRAM
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28 Actors Silver
and Howard
29 Illegal trader
30 Words
preceding war
or God
36 Young 'uns
38 Half of McGill
39 SPLIT
43 Indiana Jones's
quest
44 Franchise
45 Vertical
46 Made tea
47 Criticism and
carmine
51 Adulterates
53 Standards of
perfection
57 Plant pests
59 Italian wine
district
61 Hawaiian
garland
62 Cut in a skirt
63 BEAT IT
64 The Mikado's
Lord High
Executioner
67 Papal vestment
68 One of the
Bronies
69 Suffix with road
or hip
70 Opera voice
71 Miss Trueheart
of the romans

DOWN
1 Summer
getaways
2 "You'll always
be — of me"
3 Tea type
4 Language
5 Yankee pitcher
Don
6 Great Salt Lake
state
7 Chocolate bean
8 Get on one's
nerves
9 Allocate
10 St. Francis's
home
11 VAMOOSE
12 Lama land
13 Barber
14 Finish
15 Dolt
16 Egg on
17 Mental
confusion
18 Took deliberate
steps
19 Grammy-
winning
Fitzgerald
20 Peril
21 Discoveries
22 "Dead —"
23 "Dick Francis
novel"
24 SKIDOOO
25 Half-of-Famer
Mel
26 Went too far
27 Finnan —
(fish dish)
28 — dolt
29 Film cutter
30 Pea holder
31 One of two
32 Guy with a tail
34 "Home —"



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Solution to Puzzle of Nov. 18

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AGOG EXUDE DONA
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Debut of New Bullets Spoiled by Celts' Brown

The Associated Press

The Washington Bullets didn't win their first game with Chris Webber and Juwan Howard. But they did give the rest of the National Basketball Association a hint of things to come.

Dee Brown crashed Webber's coming-out party with the Bullets, scoring 22 points and the game-winning free throws with

NBA HIGHLIGHTS
1.6 seconds left to give the Boston Celtics a 103-102 victory on Saturday in Landover, Maryland.

Webber, obtained Thursday in a trade with Golden State, had nine points and nine rebounds in his Bullets' debut. Howard, making his NBA debut, chipped in with 10 points and a team-high 11 rebounds in 22 minutes.

Webber had four blocked shots, but missed 9 of 13 shots, including a tip-in that would have given Washington a 3-point lead with 20 seconds left. Derek Strong made a layup to put Boston up by a point, and Calbert Cheaney's jumper gave Washington the lead with three seconds to go. Rex Chapman then fouled Brown, who made the free throws.

Webber entered to a standing ovation with 2:30 to go in the first period. He got his first rebound a minute later, and his initial basket on a reverse layup with 9:41 remaining in the half.

The NBA rookie of the year last season, he played 23 minutes despite never having practiced with his new teammates. "I think it worked pretty well," he said. "It's just going to take a few days to get it down."

Howard, who ended his hold-out hours before the Webber trade, entered with 4:21 left in the first quarter. His first shot was blocked by Dino Radja.

"That let me know what level I was at," Howard said.

Howard missed his first five shots before scoring on a hook in the lane in the opening minute of the second quarter.

Radja and Wilkins each had 21 points for the Celtics, who have won three straight and four of five after opening the season with three straight losses.

Warriors 119, Jazz 115: Latrell Sprewell scored a season-high 39 points, making 17 of 18 free throws, as Golden State beat visiting Utah for its seventh victory in eight games.

Tom Gugliotta, acquired from Washington along with three first-round picks in ex-



Chris Webber failed to lift the Bullets in his first game.

change for Webber, was greeted by a standing ovation and "Welcome Tom" signs. He got into foul trouble early and had just 3 points and five rebounds in 21 minutes.

Rockets 109, Nuggets 101: In Denver, Hakeem Olajuwon scored 26 points and Sam Cassell came off the bench for a season-high 22 as Houston remained unbeaten.

It was the sixth straight road victory and ninth overall for the Midwest Division leaders and defending NBA champions.

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